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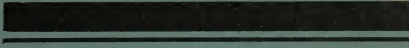
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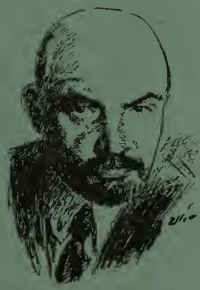
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Lenin
Liebknecht
Luxemburg



By Max Shachtman
With an Introduction by
ROBERT MINOR



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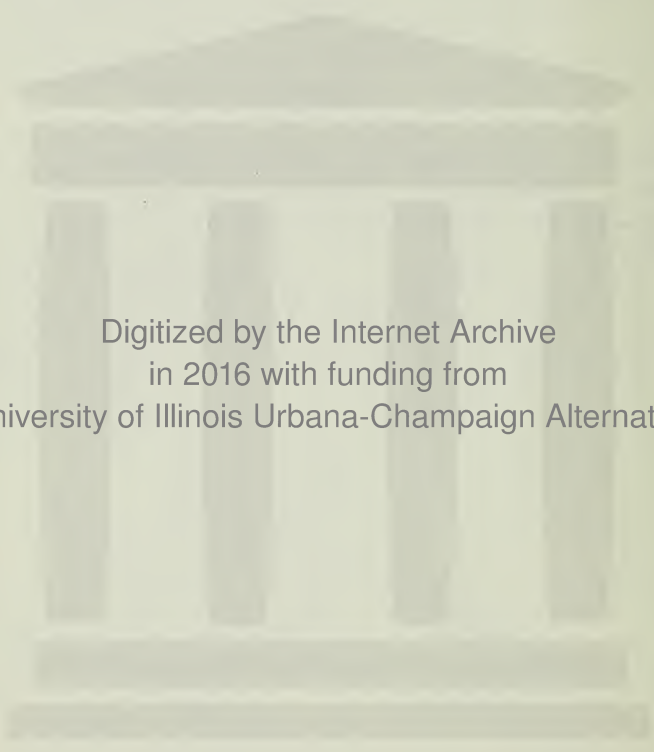
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Lenin Liebknecht Luxemburg

By Max Shachtman

with an introduction

by Robert Minor

“**M**AN makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. The tradition of all past generations weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living. . . .”

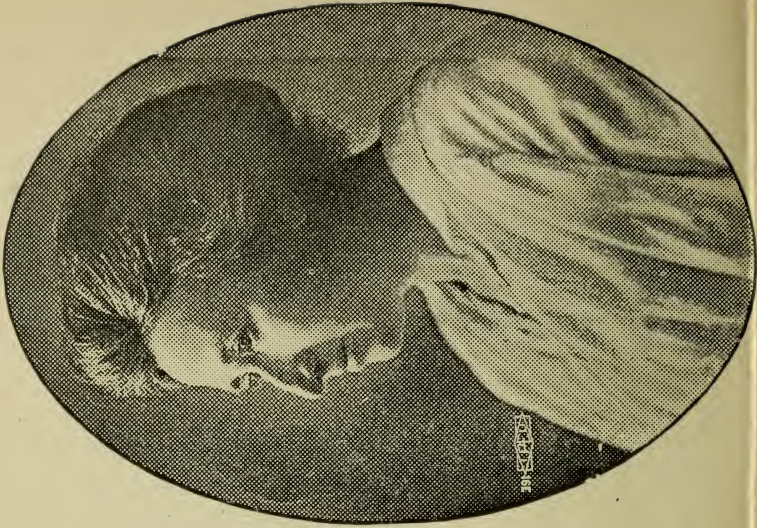
—KARL MARX.

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Introduction

THIS little book must travel far. It is addressed particularly to the young—to the men and women who are still counted as “boys” and “girls.” We who have seen revolutions know that the working class youth of the ’teens and twenties often shows more maturity in these stormy times of struggle than their elders.

This pamphlet introduces to the hundreds of thousands of young American workers three great figures whose example is a beacon light. Among the three working class heroes pictured here, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, it should not be forgotten, of course, that Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin was the leader of leaders, the creative mind whose leadership was necessary to the full greatness of the others. So this is in fact the story of Lenin and of two of his great disciples who, like him, were martyred to the cause of the working class. It is a story which should be studied with devoted attention by all young working people. The lesson of the lives of Liebknecht and Luxemburg has in it the power to take hold of the minds of young men and women and to mold them also into greatness in the service of their class. It offers nothing to those young individuals who seek for themselves a “successful” career. It is for the mass. It is for the laboring masses of humanity who are everywhere beginning, or showing signs of beginning, to surge forward to the destruction of the old tyranny of capitalism and the building of the new society to be founded by the working class and to rid the world of classes, of exploitation and of tyranny.

The need for the lesson of Leninism is more urgent in point of time than most persons believe. The Communist movement addresses the Youth, not as the mere inheritors of a cause that is to be fought for in a distant future—not the Youth as a future generation, but the Youth as the strongest of the present generation which must fight the battle.

It is then to the Youth of today—to the strongest soldiers of the working class of this day and of the immediate future, that this book is given.

ROBERT MINOR.

Karl Liebknecht

"Songs of heroes were sung at Liebknecht's cradle."—Karl Radek.

KARL LIEBKNECHT was born in August, 1871, in the year when German imperialism had won its first victory and French nationalism was for a time defeated. The socialist movement was going thru its period of storm and stress, hunted by the police whose weapon was the anti-socialist laws of Bismarck. At the time of Karl's birth, his father, the famous Wilhelm Liebknecht, sat in prison convicted for high treason against the German Empire.

Karl did not have much taste for the career that had been mapped out for him, and altho he took a degree of doctor of laws from the university of Wurzburg, and studied in Berlin and Leipzig, he soon became more attached to the revolutionary movement than to the Codex Juris. His legal knowledge he used to defend comrades who were in need of it and almost his first case was one in which he defended a young socialist in court. At all times, his office was a haven for the oppressed and defenceless until he became a constant source of worry to his partners, two of whom were his brothers, who protested that he assumed the defense of cases which brought in no fees.

As his interest in law lapsed so did his interest in the movement grow. At the age of 30 he was elected to the Berlin Common Council and soon earned for himself the name of being one of the staunchest defenders of the cause of the working class thru his speeches there. His mind turned constantly to the problem of anti-militarism and the socialist struggle against it. But here he found himself confronted with the solid wall of conservative social-democratic opinion. The old party leaders would not permit "their" party, which they had just rescued from illegality and unrespectability, to take a position upon a question which they considered unnecessary and unimportant. The party officialdom fought Liebknecht at every turn and he paid them back in the same coin. Liebknecht soon saw that to attempt to win the already corrupted social-democracy to a revolutionary position was substantially impossible. So he turned to the youth.

In the youth he saw a section of the working class which

had not become corrupted by contact with the capitalists in the parliaments, which did not bear on its shoulders the rotten traditions and senility of the grayhaired party theoreticians and bureaucrats. At one party congress after another he proposed that aid be given towards the formation of a young socialist movement which would be organizationally independent from the party and which would carry on the struggle among the working class youth. Karl recognized the necessity of organizing the young workers for the economic struggle and for the fight against militarism, while the party officialdom, even when they agreed with the need of a youth movement, conceived it as a collection of academic, harmless educational circles under the leadership and control of party members.

The work for the building of a militant youth movement was given additional impetus by the famous trial of Liebknecht in 1906. In that year he had delivered a series of lectures against militarism to the Mannheim conference of the German socialist youth organizations. The content of his lectures appeared later in a book known to us as "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" and aroused widespread interest in all working class sections. With a revolutionary spirit and great clarity he analyzed the two-fold nature of capitalist militarism: as a weapon of capitalism in its foreign wars of conquest and profit, and as an instrument for the suppression of the working class at home. What made the book more dangerous to the bourgeoisie was that it did not adopt the attitude of the pacifists or syndicalists but called for energetic anti-militarist work by the socialist youth among the workers and inside of the army. The book created such a furore that Liebknecht was arrested, his book confiscated and he was tried in Leipzig for the crime of high treason, even as his father before him.

The trial lasted three days: three days in which Karl used the tribunal of the court to arouse the workers of Germany to a consciousness of the need of anti-militarist struggle. The trial, which created universal interest, resulted in Karl's imprisonment for eighteen months.

But no prison wall ever halted the revolutionary work of Liebknecht. His persistence was finally crowned by the founding of the first International Socialist Youth Organization during the International Socialist Congress which was held in Berlin in 1907. Liebknecht was honored by being made a member of the first bureau of the Youth International. And at the first congress of the youth he delivered a report on the anti-militarist work of

the organization which, with the clarification brought into that field by the historic work of Lenin, remains to this day the fundamental basis of the struggle of the working youth against militarism.

In sharp outlines Karl analyzed all of the armed forces of capitalism: the army, the police, the special troops for the subjugation of working class struggle. Clearly did he point out the dual function of these forces: imperialist machinations in foreign lands and the iron heel for the proletariat at home. Yet he did not offer any pacifist illusions or anarchist dreams. "Do not throw away your arms! Turn them against your oppressors!" Liebknecht rejected the syndicalist idea of refusal to register for the army. On the contrary he proposed the conducting of anti militarist work among the working youth before they entered the army and their organization for propaganda after they had entered.

But while the program set out by Liebknecht was enthusiastically accepted by the youth movement it was secretly and openly sabotaged by the party officials. This was not an unforeseen obstacle. Liebknecht had placed his confidence and hopes in the youth movement and he was not disappointed. He had declared:

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class consciousness and with hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and rouse the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to social democracy and to social-democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will, be won over if everyone does his duty. He who has the youth has the army."

In 1912 he was elected to the Reichstag from Potsdam, the bailiwick of the Kaiser. "The people now have a defender in Parliament," the workers rejoiced. And Karl fulfilled their every expectation. With merciless speeches he denounced the imperialist preparations of the bourgeoisie. Sensationally he exposed their conspiracies and plans. His words amazed Germany. Paul, the British writer, relates how.

"... he proved that munition and armament industries were internationally related. He demonstrated that those industries made arms for any nation which was prepared to yield them good profit. He proved that the jingo press was dominated by the armament companies, and that these firms even provoked 'scares' in foreign countries in order to obtain orders, and incidentally profits, from other nations. Liebknecht showed that German munition firms had capital invested in British armament companies

and that, on the other hand, there was the closest financial relationship existing between British patriots and German jingoes. These exposures were fully vindicated during the recent war when Austrian firms, controlled by British capital, launched submarines to attack British ships and drown British seamen. When Liebknecht dragged aside the veil of patriotism which hid international imperialism and showed it in all its hideous reality, he struck terror into the hearts of the world's junkers. He was unable, however, to arouse the socialist movement to a realization of its international responsibilities regarding the imminence of war and the organized means to stop it"

Neither these significant revelations, nor the pious resolutions passed by the socialist parties and by international socialist congresses prevented the betrayal of 1914. Time after time had resolutions been adopted which pledged the social democracy to war against imperialist war. Again and again had the world war been foreseen and characterized as a robbers' war in which it was the duty of socialists to fulfill their role as revolutionaries, to bring an end to imperialist war by turning it into a class war for the rule of the working class.

War broke loose and the socialists, whose leaders reflected the servility of the labor aristocracy which shared a part of the huge profits of imperialism, flocked to the banner of imperialism. In the meeting of the social democratic members of the Reichstag it was decided by a vote of seventy-eight to fourteen to vote for war-credits, shamelessly to betray the working class, to sell it as cannon fodder to the Junkers. And while the discipline of the party prevailed upon Karl to vote in bloc with the rest of the deputies in the first vote he fought like a lion among men against the war and war credits in the historic session of December 2, 1914.

"The mine fields of Briery and Longwy," he said, "the mine fields of West Poland, the colonies (which promise important profits), and some other nice things, are really not bad investments for German capital."

From the floor of that gathering of imperialists and their valets he made his ringing declarations which found mute response in the hearts of millions of workers thruout the world.

"The class struggle alone is the salvation of the proletariat, and we hope that we will carry on very soon the class struggle in open international intercourse with the proletariat of all countries, even with those with whom we are at war. In this international struggle rests not only hope for the democratization, for political and economic emancipation of the working class, but also the one hope for the mass of the people concerned even during the war . . . Away with the hypocrisy of the civil truce . . . Forward to the class struggle! Forward to the international class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and against war!"

The revolutionary youth seized upon this speech with fervor and enthusiasm. Wherever it was possible they distributed his words to the masses. Their organ, the International of Youth, was at his disposal. Wherever he could he built up groups of young workers to carry the banner of international socialism. With pen and tongue Liebknecht lashed the traitors and exposed the war as an imperialist slaughter. With Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, he founded the journal, which was soon suppressed and forced to appear illegally, "The International." Around the journal he grouped all the revolutionary elements that were at hand. Slowly, patiently, he built his Internationalist opposition to the social democratic party. Persistently, this small group of revolutionaries, fighting against terrible odds and under fearful obstacles, organized the workers, calling on them to struggle against war and capitalism. In prison and out, their small illegal organization held aloft the red banner of revolution in the midst of the black pennants of Junkerism and the yellow flags of the social democrats.

The vigorous speeches of Liebknecht in the Reichstag put the fear of the masses into the hearts of the imperialists. In a short time, Karl was called to the army, where he continued his agitation among the soldiers against the idea of "national defense of the fatherland" which the workers did not possess and for the idea of the international revolution. Secretly he organized and attended the first illegal conference in Jena, in 1916, of the German socialist youth opposition, which was a forerunner of the now powerful Young Communist International.

Liebknecht became the champion and idol of the war-weary masses. On May, 1916, a huge May Day meeting was arranged for him, in which the young workers made up the greatest part. Illegally, dressed in civilian clothes, Karl addressed the thousands who were gathered to demonstrate for the end of the war. Boldly he denounced the war. Fearlessly he called upon the masses to revolt against the government. His inspiring address was interrupted, he was dragged from the platform and once more confined to prison.

But this time the miserable bourgeoisie had learned its lesson. Like the cowards they are, they denied Karl a public trial. Behind closed doors they tried him and sentenced him to four and a half years of imprisonment.

From the outside, his comrades continued their work. New beacons began to shine in Europe, beacons which stirred them on to greater efforts. The work of the Russian Bolshevik Party

and the revolutionary elements of the Scandinavian countries, the Balkans, Italy and other European countries had resulted in the holding of conferences aimed towards the founding of a revolutionary socialist international. The basis which had been laid in the long bitter struggles carried on by the revolutionaries in the old socialist international was bearing fruit in this world crisis. And finally, making the hearts of the workers of the world almost burst with joy, came the great Russian revolution—the first breach in the solid imperialist front.

Everywhere the workers took heart. The seed sown by the German Internationalists was flowering forth into a determined band of grim proletarian fighters. Freed by the first German revolution, Luxemburg and Liebknecht again appeared among the masses. Everywhere they were hailed with enthusiastic response and solemn pledges to revolution. Almost overnight, the young Spartakusbund grew in numbers and influence. The workers rallied to its standards so that they might emulate their Russian comrades in building another republic of labor. Hopefully, building the revolutionary party for which they had worked and aspired they led the band of Spartacans into battle. Against the Junkers and against the betrayers of the working class, they led the revolutionaries into the streets in the memorable January days, to be mowed down by the bullets of Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert, the leaders of the social democratic party. Small in numbers, but with unparalleled bravery they struggled for the German Soviet republic against the machine guns directed by their former "comrades." Liebknecht and Luxemburg participated actively and personally in every struggle. Exhorting their comrades to renewed vigor they led them into every battle.

The first battle was lost. These heroic party comrades, these courageous workers gave their lives for the ideal of the working class. Their party had just been founded a few days before, the grown child of Liebknecht's refusal to betray the workers, of the work of the Internationalists against war, imperialism and social patriotism, of the best traditions of the German revolutionary movement. The uprising failed because the sympathetic masses were not drawn into active struggle against the government. The young Communist Party was too loosely organized. Despite the pleas of Karl and Rosa that revolutionary parliamentarism was necessary, the first congress of the party rejected participation in parliamentary elections. Their healthy reaction to the opportunism of the social democrats was driving the young, inexperienced Communist Party towards sectarian ideas. The masses were not awakened to the struggle. The masses

were tired of war and were under the illusions of having secured "peace"; they were lulled by the social democratic phrases about socialization which never materialized.

But for the first time German workers had fought for the proletarian revolution. For the first time, the division had been made clear to the masses, the division between the honest fighters for the workers and the socialist lickspittles of imperialism, the division had been echoed to the skies by the bullets from the rifles of Noske's soldiers which were aimed at the noble hearts of the Spartacans.

Already stained with the blood of their brothers, the social democrats burned into their own foreheads, irrevocably, the mark of Cain which they bear to this day. Incited by the hangman Noske, and without any opposition from his fellow social democrats, cavalry troopers stationed at the Eden Hotel, invaded Wilmersdorf, where Liebknecht and Luxemburg were in hiding. Both were dragged to the Hotel, where soldiers proceed to carry out in cold blood the pre-arranged assassination.

Liebknecht is seated in an automobile. A very brave trooper strikes him twice on the back of his head with a revolver. Karl sinks down into his seat, half unconscious. The auto is driven swiftly to a wooded section of the city. They stop. Karl is ordered out of the motor car. Still dizzy from the blows he has received he is ordered to walk along with the officers. For a few steps he is allowed to walk, then, on the pretext that he has attempted to flee, he is shot in cold blood. The honorable Captain von Pflugk-Hartung fires the first shot. The officers then busy themselves trying to eliminate all traces of the murder.

Karl Liebknecht is dead. In another part of the city Red Rosa is foully murdered. The government is safe!

To this day the murderers of our leaders are at large. No real attempt has been made to bring them to justice. The social democratic leaders heaved a sigh of relief when they heard of the death of their most bitter enemies.

* * *

Liebknecht lives! In the Young Communist International, the inheritor of the traditions of the former Socialist Youth International, are gathered the revolutionary forces of the young workers of the world. Everywhere, its struggle against militarism and imperialism, its struggle against the reactionary Fascisti, the daily sacrifices made by its hundreds of thousands of members, are a living tribute to the unceasing work of Karl Lieb-
knecht.

Liebkecht is buried side by side with Red Rosa Luxemburg, amid scores of other courageous fighters. But Liebkecht lives in the hearts of the revolutionary youth. He lives in the mighty Young Communist International which bears his tradition of struggle onward to new victories. When the social democrats and their masters, the imperialists, murdered Karl Liebkecht they killed only one man. But new Liebkechts, new proletarian fighters arise every day.

International Liebkecht Day is the day of the class conscious young workers and farmers, and the colonial youth of the world. Greater sacrifice, greater determination, greater efforts! With Liebkecht's spirit always urging them on, the Communist Youth fights against the danger of new wars and against the reactionary forces of imperialism. To Liebkecht's slogan: Against the imperialist war! they have added: For the civil war! To Liebkecht's slogan: Against capitalism! they have added: For the world revolution!

With growing numbers and firmer strength they march towards the dawn, clear eyed, united in thought and action. The road to victory is strewn with the bodies of the best of its ranks, murdered, crippled, or tortured to death by the bestial bourgeoisie. The road is difficult to travel; many losses are suffered; the faint-hearted turn back; the traitors are discovered and scourged. But victory is in sight and must be reached with such a spirit. **Trotz Alledem!** said Liebkecht. Despite everything!

"And over defeat and defeat leads the road to Victory!"

Trotz Alledem!

Rosa Luxemburg

"She was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be highly esteemed by the Communists of all the world, but her biography and the complete collection of her writings will be useful for the instruction of many generations of Communists in all countries."—V. I. Lenin.

LIKE many of the revolutionists of her day, Rosa Luxemburg, the child of a Polish-Jewish family who was born in 1870, was obliged to leave her studies in the university abruptly because of her connection with the revolutionary movement; so that at the age of eighteen she was forced to flee to Zurich, Switzerland, in order to escape exile to Siberia for radical activities, just barely missing the gold medal which she would otherwise have obtained for her excellent studies. After leaving upper school she joined an illegal socialist group, and when she arrived in Switzerland, she soon made the acquaintance of the circle of political emigres who lived there at that time.

Very soon, Rosa was working in close cooperation with the revolutionary wing of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) whose leaders were at that time in Switzerland working together with the Russian emigrants. Together with Karsky (Marschlevsky) and Leo Jogisches (Tyschko) she led a brilliant struggle against the opportunist wing of the party which was led by Daszynski, who is now known as one of the worst yellow scoundrels in the labor movement of Poland. Altho only a young girl, this master opportunist recognized in her a dangerous foe and especially after she added in the founding of the Social Democratic Party of Poland he began to carry on a violent campaign against her. So bitterly did he work against her that he succeeded in having the International Socialist Congress, which met in Zurich, unseat her and her co-delegate, Warschavski, who was accused of being a government agent. Even the venerable Frederick Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht were inveigled to speak against her, and Plechanov, who knew the falsity of the charges, found it convenient not to expose the miserable plot.

The struggle between the two wings of the socialist movement was concerned in general with the struggle between the real revolutionary wing on the one side and the opportunists on

the other. In the question of national independence of Poland from the Russian empire, Rosa and her comrades, in fighting against the nationalist tendencies of Daszynski, took a position which was unwarranted by Marxism or Leninism and opposed the slogan of national independence for Poland, believing instead—as tho the two questions were in conflict—that the Polish and Russian revolutionists should unite in a common struggle against Czarism.— She took this position despite the fact that the leaders of the international, at that time Engels, Liebknecht the elder, and others, had taken a firm position for the principle of national independence.

The expulsion from the international congress did not cool her ardor; instead she plunged more deeply than ever into theoretical studies and practical political work. She spent months in the National Library in Paris, writing voluminously on the development of capitalism in Poland and on the division in the socialist ranks of that country. The latter subject was one upon which she was so persistent that the more advanced members of the German social democracy, to whose official theoretical organ *Die Neue Zeit* she was becoming a prominent contributor, were won over to her position.

She triumphed proudly over the Polish opportunities when at the London congress of the international, their charges were rejected and her credentials as delegation from the Social Democratic Party of Poland were accepted; and this particular phase of her work was finally crowned when at the Paris congress, in 1900, her party was officially recognized by the international.

From one battle to another she marched forward. During the time of her studies in the University of Zurich she already showed her command of the Marxist science by a literary annihilation of the bourgeoisie anti-Marxist professor of political economy, Wolf. Her articles in the German party press, particularly in the theoretical journal, (after her migration to Germany) brought her the attention of all the leading socialists of the time. For a time she became the editor of party organs in Dresden, and then in Leipzig. In election campaigns, in her general agitational work, in her propaganda among the Polish workers in Silesia, in her debates and lectures, everything she touched gained new life and greater brilliance.

At about that time, the cancer which finally ate the heart out of the German social democracy, was given literary expression in Eduard Bernstein's book, "The Problems of Socialism." There Bernstein laid down the theoretical justification for the betrayal of the principles of socialism which was being made in France, thru the entry of Millerand, a member of the French

Socialist Party into a capitalist cabinet, which—worse yet—contained the infamous butcher of the heroic Communards, the Marquis Gallifet. This action was being defended in France by such a man as Jean Jaures, in Germany by Vollmar, and by opportunists in every other country. Bernstein attempted to prove that while Marx was still a great economist and politician in many respects, his theories were in as many respects outworn. Instead of the gradual pauperization of the workers, declared Bernstein, we were witnessing a gradual improvement of their conditions. Instead of a sharpening of the class struggle, the relationships of the two classes were becoming harmonized, and so, taking into consideration the labor aristocracy and failing to reckon with the conditions of the terribly oppressed colonial slaves, he “proved” that the “workers” were in a better condition than ever.

From these obviously false premises—premises which he himself, at the outbreak of the world war practically rejected—he drew the conclusions that the tactics of the social democracy should turn from revolutionary to “evolutionary” and that thru the formulation of a number of social reforms, the working class would succeed in gradually evolving a socialist society out of capitalism. For the success of these reforms, it transpired, it was necessary that some sort of cooperation between the two classes be consummated. Thus, Bernstein formulated the theoretical basis for the policy of cooperation and betrayal which was even then being started in France and which later led to such dire results for the proletariat.

Rosa immediately sounded the tocsin against this corruption of Marxism. Broadside after broadside she fired into Bernstein’s revisionism, from the columns of her paper, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*; and the collected articles which are published in the book called “Social Reform or Revolution” stands today as a classic of the socialist movement. In her campaign she gained the support of Bebel and of Kautsky, who was at that time a good revolutionary and whose closest friend she then became. Kautsky, who had fought together with her on the question of the Polish party struggle, also brought to bear his Marxist learning in a number of articles, brochures and books to polemize against Bernstein. Again the international adopted their viewpoint (at Amsterdam, in 1904) and Rosa was chosen to represent the Polish party in the international socialist bureau.

A fleeting aside is here afforded of Rosa in debate by the comment of Daniel De Leon, who was delegated to the congress by the American Socialist Labor Party. In her debate on collaboration with Jaures

“ . . . she let fly against him a scathing Phillipic, during

which he frequently writhed under her lash, the burden of her argument being that the so-called 'cooperation of the classes' was productive of evil only."

At the same time that she was thus fighting for Marxism in the international, Rosa again committed a grave mistake in her estimation of the Russian mensheviks, advocating as she did again in 1914, the union between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, an impossible marriage against which Lenin fought so bitterly. But this estimation of conditions did not prevent her from hurrying to Russia immediately after the Jena congress of the German party, where she carried on a sharp struggle against parliamentary opportunism and the irresponsible policy towards the trades unions. In Warsaw she took over the editorship of the social democratic paper and carried on her work among the Polish masses with typical energy. The temporary respite gained by the Russian masses after the revolution, however, was but the forerunner of renewed persecutions and pogroms. In March of 1906 Rosa was arrested and remained imprisoned for more than a year. By bribing a jailor, she managed to escape back to Germany.

With her boundless energy she resumed the struggle in the ranks. This time she brought back to the German party some of the lessons of the Russian revolution and demanded at the Mannheim conference that the party's attitude towards the trade unions be revised. She pointed to the separatist and non-party attitude that the unions were developing and demanded that the party work for greater hegemony over them. Here again, while her pamphlet "The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions" and her brilliant article "Two Methods of Trade Union Policy," remain classics of the movement, valuable contributions to the fundamental work on that field, she did not have the piercing, sober analysis of the problem which received its greatest enlightenment from the work of Lenin.

But her fight against the opportunism of the party leaders was a revolutionary one and the Stuttgart international congress in 1907 once more vindicated her position. It was there also that the proposal which she brought forward in the name of the Russian and Polish delegations as a supplement to Bebel's resolution, that it was the duty of the social democracy to fight with every means at its disposal against imperialist war when it arrived, was adopted by the congress—the same resolution which was later betrayed by all those knaves who had so solemnly supported it.

Bureaucracy and opportunism continued to grow in the Social Democratic Party. At one party conference it was decided to forego the annual celebration of May Day. Rosa, who had

already had her tilt with Bebel, now growing old, on the trade union question, now broke with him to the end. When the masses were of their own accord demonstrating in the streets for the right to the franchise, the party's central committee decided to accept the decision of the police president prohibiting further demonstrations. And Rosa, who bitterly criticized this craven action of the central committee, then broke with another friend of many years, Karl Kautsky, who defended the central committee. Rosa stood almost alone, yet holding the fear and respect of every opponent who quivered with every attack from her sulphuric pen or vigorous tongue.

But where she lost "friends" among the party leadership, she gained them among the masses. When the central committee attempted to remove her from her post in the party training school, the students stood by her like one man and forced the central committee to retreat. And at the time that Karl Liebknecht was in prison, following the congress of 1910 in Copenhagen, when the central committee had repeatedly taken its lukewarm and spineless attitude towards militarism, Rosa toured the country from one end to the other denouncing militarism and imperialism in her brilliant orations, to the wild applause of the working masses.

Her anti-militarist addresses, like Liebknecht's, enraged and scared the government. She was arrested for a speech in Frankfurt and no sooner had she been sentenced, even before she served her term, than she delivered a new speech in which she exposed the mistreatment of the soldiers in the barracks. Once more indicted, she brought so many witnesses to bear testimony to the truth of her statements that the government withdrew its prosecution before many days of the trial were over. It was on the eve of the outbreak of the war.

August 4, 1914. The world was astounded by the social democratic vote on war credits. But Rosa wasted not a moment. Declaring the social democracy a whited sepulchre, a foul corpse, she grouped around herself the cream of the revolutionary wing of the old party. With her came Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, Franz Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck, Klara Zetkin, Meier and others. A small band they were, but immediately they proceeded to their task. Illegal literature was spread at every opportunity. Flaming appeals against the imperialist war was the order of the day. Rosa Luxemburg, who had written her famous open letter to Jean Jaures six years before arguing against his declaration that the alliance between France, England and Russia was a step towards peace, was being confronted by the truth of her own prophetic words.

The workers were beginning to come out of the stupor

resulting from the first shock at the socialist betrayal. Within six months the small handful of revolutionists had grown to greater proportions despite its illegality and the hindrances in its way. In February of the year following the declaration of war, representatives from many cities gathered to found the group of "The International." To combine legal with illegal work they proposed to issue a magazine with the name of their group at its head and with Red Rosa as its editor. This brilliant organ was declared illegal after the publication of the first number.

And now the sentence against Rosa for her Frankfort speech was confirmed and she was once more imprisoned for a year. Surrounded by stone and iron she continued to carry on her agitation as tho she were free. With the cooperation of the faithful Leo Tyschko, her oldest friend and co-worker, she issued numbers of *Die Internationale*, which stands today as the official theoretical organ of the party she founded, the German Communist Party, a monument to her work. From prison, also, she wrote her famous pamphlet, "The Crisis in the German Social Democracy," which became known far and wide as the Junius brochure, since she was unable to sign her own name to it and was therefore obliged to use the pseudonym Junius.

"Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. Not as we usually see it, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, or order, of philosophy, of ethics—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous nakedness. And in the midst of this orgy a world tragedy has occurred: the capitulation of the social democracy . . . It forgot all its principles, its pledges, the decision of international congresses, just at the moment when they should have found their application."

Bitterly did she scourge the social democratic traitors; scornfully she lashed to tatters their false arguments of national defense; and skilfully she exposed the imperialist roots of the war. Yet here also she relied too greatly upon the spontaneous action of the masses. Unlike Lenin she did not raise the inspiring slogan: Turn the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against its oppressors! And Lenin, while greeting joyously this noble revolutionary voice crying in the sterile desert of shameless betrayal, did not fail to criticize this omission in his own book, "Against the Stream," which he collected together with other articles written by Zinoviev.

Against the stream! "It is never easy to swim against the current, and when the stream rushes on with the rapidity and

the power of a Niagara it does not become easier!" said the older Liebknecht. And yet Rosa swam bravely with her comrades against the streams of blood which were being shed in the imperialist slaughter. Released from prison just before Liebknecht's arrest at the famous May Day demonstration, she was soon rearrested to be released only by the first revolution in Germany. Again there flowed from prison a constant stream of propaganda from her fertile pen. From her prison cell were written the famous Spartacus Letters. There also she replied to the critics of her "Accumulation of Capital" which had been published before the war, in which she attempted to set forth a Marxist theory of imperialist political economy. From that cell, too, came the letters to the wife of Karl Liebknecht which portrayed the sensitive and lovable soul of this uncompromising rebel, her love for life and struggle. There also her pamphlet on the Russian revolution, unfortunately composed on the basis of misinformation, the errors of which she later partially corrected, and which was triumphantly published by the renegade Paul Levi who attempted to use it to justify his own cowardice and to attack the first working class republic.

"This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'"

Thus had she ended her Junius brochure. And when the German revolution followed the successful uprising in Russia she was freed, together with Liebknecht, again to take up her incessant struggle for the workers' cause. With new hopes the two Spartacuses renewed their labors to build up a Communist Party in Germany. Battle-scared, undaunted, they proceeded to unite the revolutionary forces of Germany: the Spartakusbund and the revolutionary groups of Hamburg and Bremen which were led by Paul Frohlich, Knief, and Karl Radek. At the end of the year of 1918 the first congress of the Communist Party of Germany was completed. The party was as yet weak; it was dominated by leftist elements. Despite the opposition of Rosa and Karl, the congress voted to oppose participation in elections or parliaments of any kind, as well as the boycotting of the trade unions and appeals to the workers to leave them. Rosa argued, with little avail. Yet, in the program she wrote and which was adopted by the congress, the aims of the young Communist movement are clearly stated:

"The proletarian revolution is the death-bed of slavery and oppression. For this reason all capitalists, Junkers, members of the petty middle class, officers, and all those who live on exploitation and class hegemony, will rise against it to a man in a struggle for life and death. It is madness to believe that the capitalist class will, with good will, subordinate itself to the verdict of a socialist majority in parliament; and that it will voluntarily renounce its proprietary rights and its privileges of exploitation. Every ruling class has, to the very end, fought for its privileges with the most stubborn energy. The class of capitalist imperialists exceeds all its predecessors in undisguised cynicism, brutality, and meanness . . . Against the threatening danger of the counter-revolution must come the arming of the workers and the disarming of the hitherto ruling class. The fight for socialism is the most gigantic civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary defense for this war. It must learn to use it, to fight and to conquer. This defence of the compact masses of the workers, this arming of them with the full political power for the accomplishment of the revolution, is what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, and only this, is the true democracy."

The young party was soon to receive its baptism in blood. The social democrats were placed at the head of the so-called revolutionary government to head off the real revolution which would place power actually into the hands of the working class. traitorous, they quaked at the idea of a proletarian revolution. Growing up by their side, like the Soviets alongside of the decaying Russian Constituent Assembly, were the Workmen's Councils and the Communist Party. The social democrats did not hesitate to choose between revolution and suppression of revolutionary forces. A year after the founding of the Communist Party, the Workmen's Councils were maliciously provoked by the social democratic government which removed the popular police president of Berlin, Emil Eichhorn, a member of the Independent Socialist Party. Rosa knew that the situation was not yet developed for an uprising. She realized that the masses had not yet been rallied to the support of the Communist Party; that they had not, in the words of the program she had written, gained "the consent of the clear, unanimous will of the majority of the proletarian masses of Germany and . . . conscious agreement with the aims and methods of the Spartakusbund." But less clear heads prevailed and instantly the battle was on.

Together with a group of independent socialists, the Communists seized the building of the social democratic Vorwaerts and issued a manifesto deposing the national government. Barricades were thrown up overnight. Workers armed themselves and prepared to give battle. Red Rosa did not hesitate. Marx,

before her, had disapproved of the action of the revolutionaries of Paris in proclaiming the Commune; but as soon as the revolt was on he placed himself in line with the rebels—uncompromisingly; and after their terrible defeat he wrote the most brilliant declaration in its defense that the world has yet seen. And Rosa, in the same dilemma of being obliged to take a position in favor of an action which had been taken against her best judgment, showed the same revolutionary spirit as Karl Marx.

Unhesitatingly, the young party threw itself into the battle. With historic heroism they fought the troops of the social democrat Noske. With sabers and machine guns their proletarian lives were cut down to the ground. Rosa led in the battles. Liebknecht was everywhere, in the front ranks, among the youth who defended buildings that were being held by the Spartacans, in the barricades, indefatigably working among the inexperienced troops, giving encouragement and good cheer to all.

A general strike is declared; the factories stand gaunt and silent. The Berliner Tageblatt is taken over by the Berlin youth; the paper rolls are used for barricades, the books of the concern to bolster up the windows; a Red Cross station is established and guards are placed. On a number of churches, machine guns are lashed to command the streets. In front of the Vorwaerts building a huge bonfire of the social democratic leaflets which have insulted the working class. The Botzow brewery is held by the armed workers.

The government marshals its forces: social democratic workers who have been poisoned against the revolutionaries. Workers against workers.

Saturday sees the end of the brave battle. The Vorwaerts building is surrounded and surrendered. Whoever is caught with arms is forthwith shot. A sixteen year old fighter is called upon to shout "Long live the republic!"; he shouts instead "Long live Liebknecht!"; he is killed. The historic January days are over. They have seen heroic sacrifice and base betrayal.

A short few days pass. Liebknecht and Luxemburg are discovered. They are taken to the Eden Hotel, the headquarters of the troopers. Karl is spirited away and murdered by these "heroes." As Rosa is leaving the hotel entrance, the trooper Runge is standing at the door. Commander Petri has given the order that she is not to reach the prison alive. The obliging Runge strikes her heavily on the head twice, so heavily that the blows are heard in the lobby of the hotel. Rosa sinks to the ground. She is lifted and thrown into the vehicle, one man on each side of her and Lieutenant Vogel in the rear. As the truck drives off, a soldier springs up from behind and delivers another sharp blow

to the unconscious martyr; Lieutenant Vogel levels his revolver and shoots her in the back of the head; the frail, broken body quivers for the last time. They drive between the Landwehr Canal and the Zoological Gardens. No one is in sight. At the exit of the gardens near the canal, a group of soldiers are standing. The auto halts and the corpse is heaved into the canal at the order of Lieutenant Vogel. A few days later the watersoaked body is recovered and interred by the side of Liebknecht. The assassinated Jogiches finds his resting place by their side a short time later.

The social democratic Vorwaerts has very humorous writers of jingles. On the eve of the murders they publish a little song:

*"Five hundred corpses in a row,
Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek & Co.:
Are they not there also?"*

The workers mourn and plan their vengeance. The murderers walk the streets today: they are free men.

* * *

It is said that were Red Rosa living today she would be among the best leaders of the iron regiments of the powerful Communist Party of Germany. Of that there can be little doubt. The attempts of renegades and unscrupulous scoundrels to darken the sacred memory of Rosa Luxemburg by spreading the tale that she opposed the Russian revolution and the Russian Bolsheviks have already been brought to nought. Rosa had many shortcomings. Perhaps only in her last days did she begin to understand that her attitude towards the question of the peasantry was incorrect. In the question of the attitude of revolutionaries towards national independence and the right of self-determination to the point of separation she also held the wrong position. She erred in certain respects in her estimation of the Russian party conflicts, and later in her understanding of the Bolshevik revolution and its tactics. She was wrong in her book "The Accumulation of Capital" and unconsciously, in fighting so vigorously for the principles of Marxism against the opportunist revisionists, herself deviated from those basic economic principles. She had too much confidence in the spontaneous action of the masses irrespective of preparatory organizational work and of the leading role of the party.

And yet she will remain a cherished, beloved memory; yet her spirit will continue to be embodied in the world's revolutionary movement; yet her name will continue to grow in the hearts of the masses for whom she fought when those who betrayed her will have cheated oblivion only by obloquy.

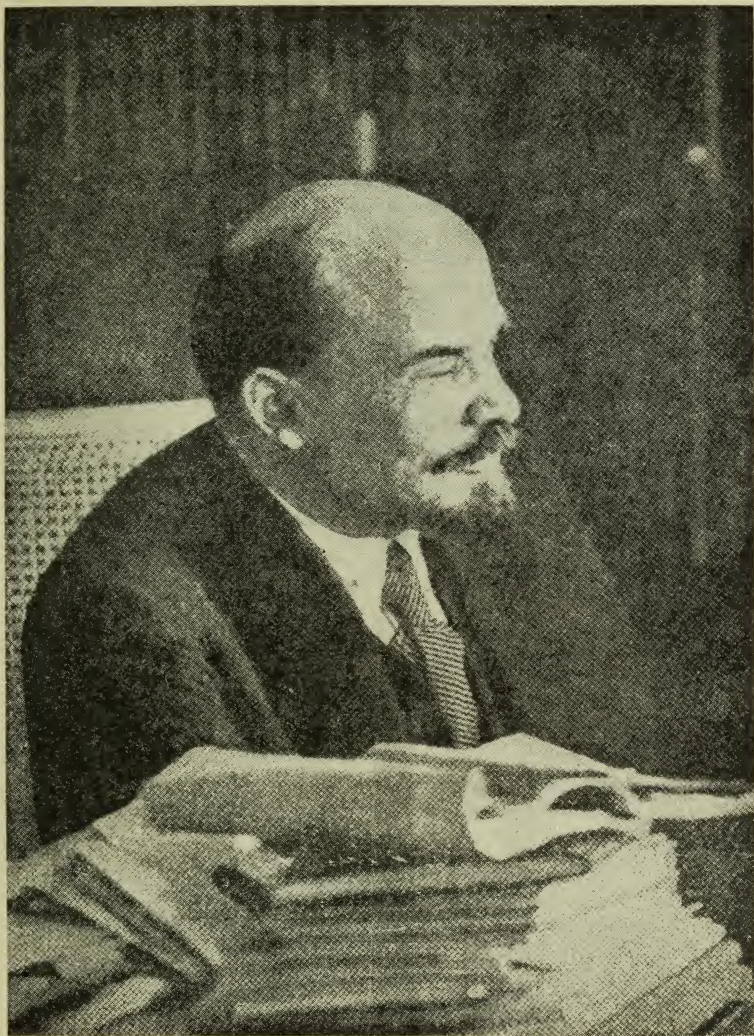
The Paul Levis who seek to capitalize her errors and forget her glorious history of revolutionary struggle have best been answered by Lenin, who often took issue with Red Rosa, but who appreciated her work as few men do:

“ . . . An eagle may descend lower than a chicken, but the chicken can never rise like an eagle. Rosa Luxemburg was mistaken on the question of the independence of Poland, she was mistaken in 1903 in her estimate of the Menshiviki; she was mistaken in her theory of the accumulation of capital; she was mistaken in defending the union of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1914 along with Plechanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others; she was mistaken in her prison writings in 1918 (on coming out of prison, however, at the end of 1918, she corrected a large number of these mistakes herself). But notwithstanding all her mistakes she was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be highly esteemed by the Communists of all the world, but her biography and the complete collection of her writings will be useful for the instruction of many generations of Communists in all countries. As for the German social democrats after the 4th of August, 1914,—‘a foul corpse’ is the appellation which Rosa Luxemburg gave them, and with which their name will go down in the history of the international labor movement. But in the backyard of the labor movement, among the manure piles, chickens like Paul Levi, Scheidemann, Kautsky and all that fraternity, will be especially enraptured by the mistakes of the great Communist.”

Rosa Luxemburg died like the bravest soldier of the revolution at his post. She died after the defeat of a revolution, after “order” had been established. The last words she is known to have written are her best epitaph:

“Order reigns in Berlin! You senseless thugs! Your ‘order’ is built on sand. The Revolution will rise tomorrow, bristling to the heights, and will to your terror sound forth the trumped call: ‘I was, I am, I am to be!’”

These words are the muted song of the grim regiments of the proletariat who march in the final struggle and for the final victory.



Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff Lenin

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff Lenin

"He was as mighty as the ocean."
G. Zinoviev.

WHEN Lenin died the world stopped for a moment. Literally millions of workers mourned his death. Even the bourgeois world, impressed with the solemnity of the moment, almost concealed their hatred while acknowledging that he had left a lasting impress on the history of humanity. No other man of his time received such a universal recognition; no other individual of his century was so prominent in making history out of the conditions which he found. For Lenin, unlike the philosophers of the past, was one of the great makers of history.

Like his two great followers, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin's university days were stormy ones. After leaving the classical gymnasium he entered the Kazan University. The revolutionary experience of boyhood—his brother, Alexander Ulianoff, had been executed by Czar Alexander III for revolutionary activity—manifested itself immediately in young Ilyich. At the end of his first month in the university he was expelled for participation in the students' revolutionary movement, and it was only four years later that he was allowed to take his final examinations. Like Red Rosa and Karl, also, he had little heart for law and he yearned for the revolutionary movement. The bitter exploitation of the workers and the oppression of the peasantry found an echo in him and his first acquaintance with the theories of Marxism led him straightaway into the camp of that small circle of Marxists whose seed finally blossomed into the powerful Russian Communist Party of today.

In Petrograd, which is now named after him as Leningrad, he grouped around himself one of the first organized Marxist circles and gained immediate prominence by his polemics against the Populists. His first literary duel resulted in the annihilation of the popular leader of the latter, N. K. Mikhailovsky, who were soon burning the heretical Marxist writings for Plechanov, Lenin's master and tutor for quite a time.

Lenin brought a fresh breath of air into the academic, stagnant atmosphere of Russian radical circles. Not content with merely engaging in abstractly theoretical discussions, he entered with all his young vigor into the building up of working

men's organizations. He built one of these bodies in the form of the "Union of the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor" and was entrusted by them to conduct the first working class strikes, to publish the first illegal pamphlets, and to lead the agitation among the Petrograd proletariat. His very first pamphlet was an agitational one, "On Fines," which aroused a quick response from the factory workers of the city.

He took the greatest joy in organizing small strikes on issues of the day, a strike for hot tea for the workers, a strike against the pernicious system of fines, a strike for higher wages or for shorter hours. When he could gather together a group of workers in order to expound to them in simple language the theories of Marx he was a happy man indeed. These little strikes which he organized and led he looked upon as the beginnings of a working class movement which would some day grow to great proportions. From the struggles for their daily needs and interests he pointed out the lessons to be drawn, always indicating the need of organizing a party of the social democracy. Always mingling with the workers, living in proletarian quarters, illegally hated by the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie and loved by the workers whose confidence he gained from the very beginning, he was not long before the long hand of the Czarist police seized him and in the nineties of the last century imprisoned him for long time.

To this very day there can still be found aged workers in Petrograd or Moscow or in the provinces who can still remember their cooperation with Lenin in some circle of discussion or in some strike. They cherish these glorious memories of the birth of the Russian working class movement.

But the struggle for the economic demands of the workers was not the final aim of Lenin's work. He regarded these economic struggles as movements which were combined with the general political struggles of the working class, from whose daily lessons were to be drawn the great lesson of working class political organization and struggle.

And so, following his imprisonment and the resultant exile, he gave himself almost exclusively to a feverish literary activity. It was in exile that he wrote his famous pamphlet on "The Problems of the Russian Social Democracy" wherein he carried on his famous brilliant polemic against the Economists. The latter held to the theory that the revolutionists should confine themselves to the economic struggle of the workers and leave to the bourgeois liberals the work of political struggle. Very wisely they argued that since the workers had no political liberty

it was necessary for the liberals to succeed in establishing this so that the workers might later take advantage of its existence to form their own political parties; but in the meantime, the economic struggle was the Alpha and Omega of the worker's field of battle.

Lenin earned the everlasting respect and hatred of the Economists by his thoro liquidation of this theory. No policy of Fabianism, of everlasting waiting, did he propose; on the contrary, he formulated the basis of the organization of an illegal social democratic party to carry on the political struggles of the working class. The lucidity of his arguments and the keen grasp of theory which he showed aroused interest in the group of revolutionary exiles who were then in Switzerland, hoping for a sign of awakening in the home country. Axelrod, who later became one of the bitterest enemies of the Russian revolution, wrote a highly laudatory introduction to the pamphlet, announcing Lenin as one of the coming leaders of the movement.

Equally great was the reception accorded his other work written in exile, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia." It was one of the final blows dealt the Populists, whom Lenin had already opened fire upon in his articles written under the pseudonym of Ilyin. With carefully mustered statistics he proved how even in Russia a capitalist political economy was rapidly overtaking the agricultural economy which was the heritage of Russia's vast resources. The very basis of the Populist conception of a society based on a peasant economy, an outlook which was bounded by the narrow confines of the Russian village, was removed from under them by the hammer blows of Plechanov and Lenin who staunchly maintained that not even Russia would escape the capitalist stage of development.

But Lenin was as firm against the perverters of his great master Marx as he was against the open opponents of him. Just as vigorously as he fought the Populists and Economists so he began his campaign against the so-called legal Marxists headed by Peter Struve, a professed follower of Marx who ended his career in the army of another Peter—the Baron Wrangel, one of the last of the counter-revolutionaries. This gentry saw in the working class the only element in Russian society upon whom they could lean in their liberal struggle against Czarism; but they had no desire to go further than this struggle against Czarism; they had no intention of carrying this struggle to its logical conclusion of a proletarian revolution. Lenin's trained ear soon detected the false notes of this songbird and together with Plechanov again he minced no words in denouncing this gentleman

is a potential agent of the bourgeoisie. Struve later very obligingly fulfilled the prophecy of Lenin.

In the beginning of the 'nineties of the last century Lenin left his Siberian exile to go abroad. There he came into closer contact with the social democratic emigrants, with Plechanov, Axelrod and Martov. There, in 1901, he collaborated in the founding of the now historical Iskra (The Spark) which took up the struggle from its first issue. Striking to the left and to the right, heaping his sharp political scorn upon the Economists and the legal Marxists, he led the Iskra along the torturous road of the first social democratic party. Aided by his close collaborator, his wife Nadezhda Konstantinova, the Swiss group became the center of all the loose threads of the social democracy which then existed in Russia. Laboriously they worked, building the party hundreds of miles away, building it in the face of Czarist oppression and terrorism, building it illegally, with sacrifice and failures at every step.

In 1903, the third congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, with the young Lenin as its outstanding leader, and the old Plechanov already playing false notes. It became apparent that a split was to take place, Lenin insisting that every comrade must be an active member subject to the discipline of the party, while Martov was ready to leave the door open for vague elements which threatened to liquidate the revolutionary soul of the party. An irreconcilable split finally took place. And those simple minded persons who believed that Lenin would soon be annihilated by the ponderous guns of such a revered and erudite leader as Plechanov were soon convinced to the contrary. Lenin, whose dearest friends had been those with whom he had split, had not a moment's hesitation to carry on a sharp and effective campaign against them from the columns of the first Bolshevik organ after the Iskra had fallen into the hands of the Mensheviks.

On the eve of the first Russian revolution, the first Bolshevik congress was held. Lenin already observed there the development of the approaching revolt, and indicated clearly its line. Not merely was it a revolution of the bourgeoisie against Czarism, but it had in it the seeds of a socialist revolution on the threshold of which it stood. There he urged, as he did twelve years later, that the Bolsheviks should not stop at the bourgeois revolution but should continue it to the dictatorship of the proletariat. There also he sounded the first note of warning against the corruption of the social democracy of Europe, a warning which was thunderously echoed by the catastrophe of 1914.

The armed insurrection took place in 1905. The masses arose and seized power, and altho the Mensheviks were numerically predominant in the first Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Delegates, it was the policy of the Bolsheviks which had actually triumphed. Their analysis of the course of development had been wholly vindicated. Zinoviev comments:

"The Moscow armed insurrection, though defeated and crushed had nevertheless been the apotheosis of the Bolshevik tactics during the revolution. We were defeated and Plechanov's only comment on the event was the philistine phrase: 'These people ought not to have taken up arms.' Lenin's attitude towards that insurrection was different. To him there was no nobler and more honorable page in the history of the revolution than the Moscow armed insurrection . . . For Lenin realized to perfection that the Moscow insurrection was the first outpost skirmish with the bourgeois world. He realized the world historical consequences of the Moscow insurrection, crushed and drowned in the blood of the workers, yet the first glorious working class revolt against Czardom and capitalism in a most backward country."

And there also, as he looked down from the balcony on the sessions of the Petrograd soviet, he saw coming to life the prophetic vision of Marx in 1850, who saw the workers' state as the councils of workers, and Lenin observed in this soviet the reflection of the future Soviet State, the only working class authority during the revolution.

There followed the backwash of a defeated revolution, with its resultant pessimism, apathy, and hopelessness. Tendencies to liquidate all revolutionary organization and struggle cropped up everywhere. The intellectuals, in some of whom there had up to this time been found a spark of revolutionary courage and will, degenerated to the dregs of sexual degradation. Ever hopeful, Lenin resumed his work. With indomitable energy the Bolsheviks began to rebuild the exhausted remnants of their party. Once more they swam against the stream. In exile, ill, planning, studying and working feverishly, jeered at by the weaklings and the opportunists, he persevered, diligently building the revolutionary movement, his mind upon nothing but the party which he held sacred and above everything.

The horrible massacre of the Lena goldfields workers in 1911 stirred the sluggish masses one more; new vistas of work were opened up to the revolutionaries. Back to Moscow to conduct a legal Bolshevik paper and to manage the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma, teaching the working class deputies the meaning of revolutionary parliamentarism, working with them to make of the Duma a vast megaphone thru which the problems and

demands of the Russian proletariat might be heard thruout the length and breadth of the country. Improved connections were established with the Bolshevik groupps thruout the country, the agitation in the trade unions was intensified, the publication of propaganda in the form of legal papers, leaflets and books was conducted on an ever greater scale.

Then came the outbreak of the war; and with it the shameless betrayal by the "socialist" leaders. Lenin who had fought in the congresses of the international for a revolutionary position towards the approaching imperialist war, was himself astounded at the depths of shame to which the social democrats had sunk. It was at that time that he pronounced the Second International dead. Immediately after he wrote his famous pamphlet on "The Collapse of the Second International" where he traced the causes for the downfall of the international and laid the basis for a revolutionary international which would continue to carry the standard of the International Workingmen's Association, the international of Marx.

Dark years followed, darkened with the blood of millions of young proletarians on the imperialist battle fields. "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against its masters!" Thus Lenin issued his inspiring slogan. Separated from the movement, torn from the other parties of the international, he spent most of his time in study and correspondence and in agitation in the Swiss party and among the Swiss youth. Zinoviev relates how happy Lenin was at getting seven young Proletarians into the left social democratic organization in Zurich. His favorite recreation at that time was to take a few young rebels on his cycling trips or to a swimming pool to discuss questions of the revolution.

In Switzerland, also, he made his first important contacts with the organized revolutionary youth movement. Grouped around its publication, the International of Youth, which is today the organ of the Young Communist International, were the left wing elements of the Young Socialist International, carrying on a vigorous campaign against socialist treason and against the war. These revolutionary young workers were still to a large extent under pacifist illusions, many of them advocated disarmament. Patiently, Lenin worked with them, converting them to the Bolshevik viewpoint and contributing to their little journal some of his most important and brilliant anti-militaristic works.

Together with the International of Youth group, the Italian revolutionaries, and groups and parties in other countries, Lenin worked for the rebuilding of the international socialist movement. Conference after conference, in which Lenin was attacked by

many who now follow or revere him, was held in Switzerland. Kienthal, Zimmerwald, Berne, these were all milestones in the road towards the building of the mighty Communist International. Constantly he agitated against opportunism and imperialism, "corrupting the entire working class movement with his Russian 'anarchism'" as the Swiss social democrats declared hopelessly. And while the working class parties of the world were still struggling for revolutionary expression the youth had learned from Lenin and had built their Young Communist International.

The second storm soon broke loose. The March uprising brought the Russian revolutionists, from every corner of the world, back to their native land. Now there was a period of unprecedented activity on the part of Lenin and his comrades. Again the uncompromising battle against the bourgeoisie and their instruments, the mensheviks and the social revolutionaries. Historic days, days which shook the world, days which are cherished by the workers of Russia and by the workers of the world.

The Bolsheviks assume power! The dictatorship of the proletariat is established and the Soviets become the organs of the state power! The struggle against counter-revolution and famine, the long, bitter, wearying struggle which led to victory, is begun! The work of building a working class republic, a socialist economy, is started with the titanic energy of Lenin's party behind it! The Communist International, born in the trough of war and revolution, is baptized with the spirit of Lenin.

Years of suffering, hardship, misery, hunger and death. An assassin's bullet is sent thru the body of Lenin by the wretched Kaplan. Years of intervention, blockade, isolation, villification by the bourgeoisie and the social democrats. And thru it all the hard determination of the Russian working class which Lenin loved, the determination which ends only in victory.

Lenin continues his work painstakingly. When the Russian Young Communist League is formed he consults with its executive committee and urges them to establish connections with the revolutionary youth movement of the West. And when a representative leaves to establish these connections Lenin discusses the tasks of the international youth movement with him in detail. Lenin is the master, the teacher and inspirer of the youth. His hopes mature in the coming generation.

"In the best circumstances this generation will be able to solve the tasks set by the building up of such an order of society which will make it possible for the proletariat and the working population to retain the power in their hands and to lay a firm foundation upon which only that new generation can continue to build which is able to begin its work under quite new conditions

of life without the exploitation of man by man In order to do this a young generation which grows up to conscious manhood surrounded by the desperate and disciplined struggle against the bourgeoisie is necessary. In this struggle it will become truly communist and each step of its education and training must be combined with this struggle and subordinated to it. The education of the young communists must not consist in the presentation of honeyed words and rules of morals. This is no education. Only when these youths have seen how their fathers and mothers groaned under the yoke of the oppressors, only when these youths have participated in the suffering which was the lot of all those who started the struggle against the exploiters, only when they have seen what sacrifices are necessary to continue this struggle, in order to maintain what had been gained, and when they have seen what furious enemies are the land-owners and capitalists, then will these youths in these surroundings be educated to communists."

Entry into the struggle, fighting for the needs and interests of the masses, no quarter to the enemy or its aids, leading the workers to victory, this is the history of Lenin. It is here quite impossible to give a thoro appreciation of the tremendously historical significance of Lenin and his contributions to the revolutionary movement. With Marx he was the greatest thinker and revolutionist the world has known. Lenin was not an academic student or a professor. His work breathed the struggles of the oppressed. He snatched Marxism from the hands of the opportunists and brought it to the working class as a living pulsating theory of proletarian revolution. He took Marxism and applied it to the present epoch of capitalist society, the epoch of imperialism; applied and developed it in theory and in practise. This was his contribution to the working class and to the revolutionary movement of the world. He was the theorist, organizer, agitator and leader of the revolution.

The Communist youth who have learned the great lessons of Leninism are working for the aims he set. Capitalist exploitation, war and misery, that against which Lenin fought so ruthlessly, is the chosen enemy of the working class youth. There is its field of battle. The torch of struggle against militarism which has now been handed over to the youth movement is being carried to the four corners of the earth. The battle for the liberation of the oppressed colonial slaves, the peasant youth, and the working class youth is carried on in the spirit of Leninism by the Young Communist International. To them has been bequeathed the task by Lenin of winning the millions of working youth to the banner of Communism, of proletarian revolt. It is their historic mission.

Lenin dead is still a powerful force, and will so remain.

"Lenin was frequently compared with Marat," says Zinoviev, "but fate was kinder to him than to Marat, who became dear to his people after his death . . . Yes, a Marat closely connected with the millions of the town and country proletariat. That is Lenin. Take the fanatical devotion to the people which distinguished Marat; take his simplicity, his intimate knowledge of the soul of the people, take his elemental faith in the inexhaustible strength of the 'lower depths,' take all this and add to it the first class education of a Marxist, an iron will, an acute analytical mind, and you will get Lenin such as you know him now. A revolutionary social democrat is just a Jacobin who has tied up his fate with the most advanced class of modern times, with the proletariat—such was Lenin's reply in 1904 to the Mensheviks who were accusing him of Jacobinism. The figure of the proletarian 'Jacobin,' Lenin, will yet throw into shade the glory of the most glorious of the Jacobins of the time of the great French revolution"

Workers, peasants, colonial slaves—everywhere—these are the followers of Lenin and the international which he led in building. His work is as cherished by the masses as it is hated by the bourgeoisie and villified by the social democrats. The great heritage of thought and work left to the masses by Lenin is their dearest possession. It has been bought at the cost of innumerable sacrifices, but it is being used for the noblest aim that human society has yet had set for itself. It is a heritage which is being handed to the new generation, born in the flames of war and revolution, freed from the depressing traditions of respectability and conformity, ready to carry the work of Lenin to the end—to the victory of the world revolution.

On the shoulders of the youth devolves this great task. In them the spirit of Lenin must be cherished; by them his work must be perpetuated. Lenin is dead; but the spirit of struggle must shout to the world from the work of millions of young revolutionists:

"Leninism lives!"

Our Aim:

Our purpose is the winning of the working class youth in this country to the aims of Communism, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class necessary for its realization, its defense against the attacks of capital and its education and mobilization as soldiers of the proletarian revolution. As a section of the Young Communist International it fights for the aims of the Comintern and for the political, economic and cultural demands of the working youth in city and country, for the recruiting of the working youth into the Communist International and their formation into a reserve for the Communist Party.

—Constitution Young Workers League.

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THE YOUTH—FIRST IN RUSSIA, LAST IN AMERICA

The contrast between Russia—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—and the United States is indeed great. The United States is the most prosperous country in the world. It has in its possession more than half the world's gold. It produces more than half of the most important of the world's goods. But—the United States is ruled by the bosses. All the riches produced benefits not the producers but the owners. The greater the productive power, the richer does the master class become, and the more severe becomes the exploitation of the workers.

Russia is very poor. Its resources are not developed. It is still rebuilding what was destroyed in the war, the blockade and the counter-revolutionary attacks. It has only begun to develop its industries. But—Russia is ruled by the workers. In Russia, whatever is produced is used for the benefit of the producers. All improvements, all discoveries, all inventions, mean better life for the workers.

When this is allowed to sink in, we can really understand the tremendous contrast between the conditions of the young workers in America and the young workers in the Soviet Union. In Russia, in spite of every difficulty, the youth comes first. In America, in spite of all the prosperity, the youth comes last. In Russia, it is taken for granted that young growing persons must receive the best that society can offer. In America, it is taken for granted that the youth are to receive the lowest wages, labor the longest hours and under the worst conditions—because they are not organized and cannot yet fight for better conditions.

The American Trade Union Delegation found that in

labor & ind. rel. 23 p. 47 cited Franklin

the Soviet Union no person was permitted to work who was under fourteen years of age.

In the United States, there are approximately two million children under that age gainfully employed on farms, in factories and offices, as errand boys and girls, in street trades, and in a thousand and one other occupations. They receive the lowest possible pay, and sometimes work as long as fourteen hours a day. So determined to the bosses seem to be to keep on exploiting these children, that when it was proposed to give Congress—the “people’s voice”—the power to regulate the employment of children under sixteen, there was a mass uprising of the bosses. The Constitutional Amendment on Child Labor was adopted by only six states out of the forty-eight in the United States. The State of Montana pays its children the honor of recognizing that they are at least on an equal footing with animals. It has a “Commission for the protection of children and dumb animals,” which is entrusted with the task of looking after the needs of both equally. Many states do not even grant the children that privilege. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animal functions everywhere but nobody cares about the children.

The table printed in another part of this pamphlet shows that the young workers in Russia do on an average of about three hours’ work in a factory.

In the United States there is a fable about the eight-hour day. But it is not every young worker who can boast of its benefits. In the Southern states, for instance, where the young workers form the bulk of those employed in industry, about five per cent. of the workers work 48 hours a week or less, *which forty per cent. work sixty hours or more a week.* In the radio factories of New York and Chicago young workers are employed fifty-four hours a week. In the biscuit factories, the department stores and other places

where large numbers of young workers are employed, the eight-hour day is a rare exception.

In Russia, because the young worker is still more tender and less hardened, he received special protection, does not work at night or in dangerous occupations.

In America, because the young workers have not yet the power to compel it, they receive the least protection. They work at night. They work in all occupations, beginning with steel mills and the coal mines and ending with the most poisonous chemical occupations. Every year several thousands are the victims of their occupations, and they are not even eligible to compensation under the law that excludes all those illegally employed from compensation.

In American the youth are only considered as objects of exploitation. In Workers' Russia they are considered as the builders of the new society.

"When the American young workers follow the example of the Russian young workers, they too will learn to participate in government as the Russian workers are learning to do," said Frank Palmer, member of the American Trade Union delegation to the Soviet Union, and editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate. Russia's youth, organized in the largest youth organization in the world, the Communist Youth League of the Soviet Union, with two and a half million members, is setting the example for the rest of the world. The American young workers, altho on the whole still largely under the influence of the capitalists, have already take the first steps along the road made by the Russian young workers. It is not a mere incident that in the last miners' strike, in the Passaic strike, the young workers were the leaders. It is not an accident that at the head of the picketing Colorado miners who broke thru a cordon of thugs and Company police, was a nineteen-year-old girl. Nor is it an accident that in New York the plumbers' helpers went out on strike to support the strike of their older brothers, and

that they organized themselves into a union, even tho they were refused admission into the American Federation of Labor. The above are all indications of the one important fact—that a large section of American young workers are beginning to take the lead in the fight against the bosses.

At the head of all these movements, in the front line trenches, has stood the YOUNG WORKERS (COMMUNIST) LEAGUE OF AMERICA. Compared to the two and one half millions in the Russian League, it is indeed small. But it is active. It is militant. Is is growing. And it is young. The Young Workers League has established itself as the only working class youth organization in America.. It is the only youth organization that gives the young workers any possibility of doing something for themselves. The Young Workers League invites all open-eyed young workers, all those who have been inspired by the achievements of the Russian youth, to join its ranks, and with the united power of the youth to do in America what the Russian youth is striving for in the Soviet Union.

HERBERT ZAM.

WHAT HAS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION DONE FOR THE WORKING YOUTH?

I

From an object of exploitation, the labor of the young worker becomes the basis for Socialist education; it becomes subordinated to the purposes of education. In the capitalist factory, the youth was simply an appendage to the machine. Thru reorganizing the industrial work of youth under eighteen, the Soviet power brings up the young worker into a completely developed proletarian.—
Program of the COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet Revolution of 1917, in which the proletarian youth of Russia fought shoulder to shoulder with the adult workers to set up the rule of the workers, marked the beginning of a new era in the life of the Russian toiling youth. The reorganization of labor, the new conditions of education and of life provided the working youth with tremendous possibilities for physical and mental advance. The November Revolution paved the way for a thoro transformation of the miserable slave-like existence of the young worker and at the same time created all the necessary conditions for his emancipation, for his development into a free class-conscious worker and human being.

Let the capitalists and their followers in the ranks of labor try to prove that all we have are no more than pious wishes, that all our "wonderful laws are only on paper," that the conditions of life and labor of the youth in Russia "arouse rage and indignation." We do not listen to them; we believe facts only. The sober language of facts and figures will

show us how false are all the slanders of our enemies. We never maintained that the young workers of our country have already won the best possible conditions; we do maintain, and we are ready to prove that the conditions of the young workers in the Soviet Union are *improving from day to day*, that we are marching forward with giant steps, that all our efforts are based on the correct foundations, that the rule of the workers makes possible for us ever greater progress and ever healthier growth.

II

YOUNG WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

In order to make clear to the reader the significance of the part the young workers play in industry, we present here a little table showing the development of the young workers in industry in comparison with the total number of workers employed.

Year	1914	1918	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926-7
Number Y. W.	87,875	85,028	90,864	133,992
Perc't'ge Y. W.	13.9	13.1	10.0	7.0	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.1	5.6

In spite of the fact that these figures are not complete, we can learn a whole lot from them. The thing that strikes us first is the large *decrease* in the number of young workers in proportion to the total number of workers employed. Some people may see in this a remarkable and perhaps even harmful development. But when we think this matter over a little more deeply, we see that not only is the development not harmful but, on the contrary, it is even beneficial. In employing large numbers of poorly paid young workers, the capitalist boss was interested only in the hunt for profits. The profits that could be squeezed out of the young worker

were in fact very high. One of the recognized experts on labor statistics, Strumilin, defines this as follows:

“The wages of a young worker amounted to only 35% of that of an adult. His production, however, was about 60% of an adult worker’s. As a result he was exploited practically twice as much as the adult.”

Wherever possible, we tried to replace the young workers by adults, and to free them from labor that was beyond their strength. When, besides this, we also remember that about a third of all workers began work at the very early age of twelve years, and that two thirds entered the factory when they were not yet fifteen years old, then it becomes perfectly clear how important it was to decrease the number of young workers in the factory, how harmful for the working youth was their excessive participation in production. The Soviet Power brought an end to the condition in which, literally, children were dragged into the factories and exploited mercilessly. The labor of children under 14 years has been prohibited by law. The fruits of the abolition of child labor were quick in maturing. In 1923, there was no more than .08% (eight out of 10,000) employed under 14 years of age; the rest were in educational institutions, and whenever and wherever possible, in health and pleasure resorts, children’s camps, etc.

So now we see to whose advantage the decrease in the number of employed young workers was; it was for the benefit of the children and of the half-grown youth, who often had to do the work that taxed the strength of even adult workers.

But the withdrawal of the working youth from industry was accompanied by serious dangers:

First, the estrangement of the coming generation from the working class, and secondly, the intereferece with the normal training of skilled workers.

In order to avoid these dangers, certain measures were taken, the most important of which was a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (May 22, 1922) according to which every factory must reserve a definite minimum number of places for young workers. At that time, this minimum number was about 7% of all the workers employed. Later this was made somewhat smaller. From 1924, however, until the present day, it has remained more or less the same, corresponding to the general rise of the economic system. Our youth has obtained a firm foothold in industry, but on an entirely different basis than before.

III

THE REORGANIZATION OF LABOR AND THE TRAINING OF YOUTH

Basing itself on the principles of Socialist education and labor, the Soviet Government looks upon the position of the young workers in industry from an entirely different basis than that of the capitalist countries. Whereas the capitalist employer hires young workers in order to squeeze out the greatest possible amount of profit, our policy has a very different foundation. The following two tasks formulated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Youth League of the Soviet Union, are decisive:

“For industry developing upon a new technical basis we must provide trained workers corresponding to its demands.”

“The work-schools, the centers of the trade and general education and training of the half-grown youth, have the task of producing not foremen, minor technical officials (straw bosses) but only above all *class-conscious, intelligent, technically trained workers*. . . . The work-schools must supply the chief trades of the respective industries with such trained workers as require in general a rather long time to train.”

Thus, the training of the young workers has an entirely new aspect. Besides his trade training, the young worker receives in the work-school a general education, and graduates from the school a good, intelligent worker. In former times the young workers were not so much trained as broken in by force: work was piled on them, that had nothing to do with their usual training, and their so-called "education" prepared them for nothing in particular.

How are things now? From the material obtained by medical examination of the youth in the summer of 1923 we learn that in the main trades were employed 76.9% of all apprentices and in the secondary trades 10.8%. As assistants in offices, in stores, etc., 12.3% of all apprentices were employed.

These figures are clear enough; no comment is necessary.

Another question can, however, be raised: "Do these factory schools prove successful? Are the young workers actually educated and trained there?" Let us see how the management of various factories answer these questions.

From Tver:

"The managers and the technicians express themselves in the sense that the graduates of the factory schools make a thoroughly excellent record in the factories."

A similar report from Kariupol:

"The graduates of the factory schools satisfy quite well, as far as their qualifications are concerned; the demands of the factory and the workers themselves look upon them in a very favorable light."

A few more figures about the development and significance of the factory schools. In the beginning of 1922 there were only 43 of these schools with 2,000 students; in January, 1923, there were already 748 schools with 50,000 students.

Towards the end of 1924 the schools included 55% of the youth employed in industry. At the present time the schools are expanding rapidly and are becoming perfected; the training standards of the graduates is continually rising as well as their general cultural level. As a consequence it has become possible to draw in larger and larger sections of the youth into this splendid educational system.

IV

WORKING HOURS AND THE PROTECTION OF LABOR FOR THE YOUTH

The 8-hour day is the unshakable basis of our labor standards. On this basis special provisions are made to provide the youth with possibilities for physical and mental development. The chief points in the protection of youth are: young workers under 16 years work for four hours; young workers from 16 to 18 work 6 hours.

The following table gives us a general idea of the distribution of time of a student of a factory school:

Factory work . . . on the average	2.9	hours	daily
Theoretical study (classes, study, etc.)	3.8	"	"
Recreation and entertainment	3.3	"	"
Care of the body, etc.	2.1	"	"
Eating	2.0	"	"
Miscellaneous	1.3	"	"
Sleeping	7.6	"	"

Total 24.00 hours

It is obvious from this distribution of time that the life of the young worker is thoroughly normal and is very favorable for his physical and mental development.

WAGES

The development of the wages of the young workers is associated very closely with the development of the wages of the adult workers. After wages had reached their lowest point in the years of the civil wars and general economic decline, there began at first sudden rises and then a more regular but therefore surer development upward. Wages have not reached and surpassed the pre-war level; but the present position of the working youth cannot be compared in any way to the position of the young workers before the war on that basis. Paragraph 61 of the code of Labor Protection says: "The shortened work day of young workers is considered as a full day in so far as wages are concerned."

What the young workers used to receive for 9 and 10 hours of grinding labor, yes, and more than they used to receive, is now received for a 4-hour work day! And it is to be remembered that labor today is organized on an entirely different basis from what it used to be. It is also very important to note that all young workers get a yearly vacation for one month on full pay, that they get continual medical care, that they have the advantage of extensive social legislation. On the basis of this we can say without the least exaggeration that the condition of the working youth has improved tremendously not only in the cultural but also in a purely economic sense.

We do not overlook the greater and lesser shortcomings and deficiencies. Yet the last decade has shown us that the Soviet Power is gradually overcoming these deficiencies and is succeeding in raising the standard of the entire working class and especially of the working youth.

In order not to overlook the sorest spot in the conditions of the youth we must examine the problem of unemploy-

ment. Owing to the great influx of young people from the farms, an influx that cannot by far be absorbed in our industry, considerable numbers of young workers are registered at our Labor Bureau. "The ranks of the unemployed youth are recruited mainly from such elements as enter the labor market for the first time," declared the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Youth League.

The government has already initiated a number of measures in order to lessen and remove unemployment among the youth. It has placed a premium on native industry, the development of which—the development of State industry—is the foundation on which unemployment as a whole and particularly unemployment of the youth will be overcome.

VI

YOUNG WORKERS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

As we have shown above, the economic conditions of the working youth are in all respects superior to those existing in capitalist countries: nevertheless, the young workers, just as the adult workers, are organized in the trade unions which, of course, have entirely different functions in the Workers' Republic. The trade unions, besides seeing to the welfare of the working class, devote special attention to the education of the workers, especially the youth, in the class spirit preparing them for the great tasks which face the toilers in Soviet Russia.

The young workers in the Soviet Union are admitted in trade unions as soon as they are permitted to work, for the principle in the Workers' Republic is that if a person is old enough to work he is old enough to participate in the work of his economic organizations—the trade unions. However, the trade unions realize that the young workers have their

special problems and therefore have special youth representatives on all the committees, starting with representatives of the young workers in the shop committee up to youth representatives in Central Committees of the Trade Unions. These representatives are elected by the young workers in shops, mills, mines and every existing enterprise where the young workers are engaged. These representatives take up all the matters pertaining to the conditions of the young workers and on all the work which is conducted by them they must report to the young workers. The trade unions create special youth sections in every workers' club, where the youth can gather, spend an enjoyable evening, study, etc. These youth sections in workers' clubs are managed exclusively by the young workers through special management committees which they elect. The trade unions cater also to the apprentices and have special youth inspectors whose duties are to investigate the factory schools and see that the apprentices should enjoy all the privileges offered to them by the Soviet Labor Code.

In spite of the fact that the Workers' State is still poor, yet everything possible is being undertaken to assist the workers and especially the youth during the time of unemployment. Since the bulk of the unemployed today in Soviet Russia are either peasants who migrate and settle in the cities or the peasants who come during the winter months, when they are released from their toil on fields, the problem of unemployment is of a special nature in the Soviet Union. Therefore, all measures are undertaken to give these young peasants who come from the villages an opportunity of learning a trade with which they could enter industry. This is being done through special workshop schools attached to the Labor Exchanges. Young handicraft workers are being organized into groups and given work, with pay at trade union rates, by the government. The young unemployed are being utilized by the local governmental bodies for public works, for instance, road repair, clearing lots and other unskilled labor.

All young trade unionists are also insured and during a period of unemployment receive benefit from their respective trade unions along with the relief rendered by the government to the unemployed.

VII

SUMMARY AND FUTURE

In this pamphlet we have attempted to sketch briefly the conditions of our working youth, the tremendous gains that the great Soviet Revolution has won for us. We believe that every reader will see clearly how great these achievements are, especially when he considers under what difficulties the Soviet Power began and is continuing its gigantic work. If it was possible for us to accomplish so much for the exploited and oppressed youth at the time when the first Workers' Republic of the world was surrounded on all sides by enemies, when the young workers and the young Communists struggled and fell on the many fronts of the civil war, then we can look confidently into the future. Our heroic fighters for Socialism, examining the past decade, can declare with proper pride that they have not struggled in vain. Our youth also can declare that not for nothing did they hunger and suffer in the hard years of war and intervention. Those among us whose fathers and older brothers fell in the struggle for our future are now ready to fight with the same enthusiasm for our Socialist fatherland, for our Socialist achievements. In the war that is threatening us now, the working youth will follow the example of the revolutionists of 1917 and will know how to meet the imperialists and the counter-revolutionists of every kind and from wherever they may come.

Manifesto, Program,
Resolutions and
Constitution.

Young Workers League

of
AMERICA.



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May 13-15, 1922
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INTRODUCTION.

"Experience is a hard school," said old Ben Franklin. That is the school through which the working class movements of all the world have been passing during the last few years. It is a hard school, and we must suffer much before we can graduate.

The Young Workers League of America, officially launched at its first national convention, held in the city of New York, May 13th-15th, 1922, came into being as a result of the economic and social conditions in America. That there was a real need for such an organization can readily be seen, when one considers that in less than five months a national organization, embracing over 2,300 young workers, with branches in 51 cities had been perfected. To be sure, there were a few young peoples organizations that had been in existence prior to January first 1922, but they were small, scattered, and had no unified purpose nor program. The remnants of the Independent Young People's Socialist League by no means constituted the majority of the membership in the Young Workers League, although the ones most active in the creation of the Y. W. L. of A. had gotten their training in the Y. P. S. L. and I. Y. P. S. L. They were the ones who had passed through the black days of 1919-20. They were the ones who had sought to make of the old Young People's Socialist League a militant movement of the youth, and who had broken from the Socialist Party because of its expulsion of the "left" elements within it in 1919.

We have gone through a hard and a dear school. Experience has taught us many things. The Young Workers League has been able to consider the faults committed in former days, and because of this is able to enter the arena of the class struggle fully aware of the tremendous obstacles before it. It is not a social or pleasure seeking organization—and yet it realizes that these things are quite essential in a youth movement. It is not primarily a study-class organization—and yet it understands how necessary study-class work is. It is not essentially an economic organization nor a political party—but it is fully aware of the need to conduct work along both of these lines. It is, rather, a com-

Laber - In case Ref 4 Nov 47 Sec of America

combination of all of these things. It is the FIGHTING VANGUARD of the WORKING CLASS YOUTH OF AMERICA.

The Manifesto and Program adopted by the Y. W. L. convention is a clear exposition of our position and just what we intend to do. It is, in our opinion, one of the first attempts made in any program or manifesto adopted by revolutionary organizations in this country, to combine theoretical clarity of principles, revolutionary expression of purpose, realistic exposition of tactics, and lucidity of language, written from the viewpoint of an American worker, citing examples and illustrations from events in this country, and avoiding to as great an extent as possible the use of a terminology familiar only to a Marxian student.

It is our belief that a real GUIDE TO ACTION for the young workers has been herein developed, and if they will but study it carefully and act accordingly, the Young Workers League of America will become a MASS movement that can really accelerate the progress of the whole revolutionary movement in this country.

We have made a big step forward. We are confident that our organization will play an active part in the labor movement. However, experience will teach us in the future, as it has in the past, and we—as the advance guard—shall continue to benefit by it, adjusting our tactics to meet the new conditions, but always and ever moving Forward, Onward, Upward till wage-slavery and capitalism are but night-mares of the past.

Forward in the Struggle!

National Executive Committee,
Young Workers, League of America.

Manifesto and Program.

Conditions in the United States.

Where is the prosperity, peace and happiness promised by the master class to the workers of this country for their sacrifices during the world war? What are the conditions that actually confront the millions of toilers, young and old, in the United States of America?

During the past year (1921) the army of unemployed has been steadily growing, in spite of the many attempts by municipal, state and national authorities to provide employment for those out of work.

The year 1922 offers no immediate prospect of betterment for the wage earners of this country. The unemployed number at least 6,000,000. Hand in hand with unemployment goes the reduction of wages. This is accomplished in various ways. With such a tremendous army of unemployed walking the streets, it is an easy matter to cow those at work into acceptance of a lower wage scale by replacing them from the ranks of the unemployed. The fear of losing a job is sufficient in many instances to cause the toilers to accept this reduction. This is not only a means of forcing those already at work to accept lower wages but in innumerable instances the entire force of a factory is thrown out of work purposely to rehire others at very much lower wages.

It is significant to note how the employers are eliminating the older workers and hiring young

workers to take their places. Never was there such a golden opportunity for the capitalists to speed up production. Never was there such an opportunity to cut wages. Never was there such an opportunity to lengthen the hours of work.

Another factor is the "American" or "Open Shop" plan. At no time has such a strained effort been made on the part of the employing class to break up the unions. This applies as well to the moderate and purely craft unions as it does to those of an industrial and more revolutionary make-up. Every advance that the workers have gained in their long struggle against the bosses for better conditions is rapidly being snatched away from them. As an example of this consider what is being done to the railroad workers and the coal miners.

In this connection, it is especially noteworthy that the wages of the younger workers are being cut more ruthlessly than are the wages of the older toilers. They are forced to labor under even more oppressive and exacting conditions of employment than are the adult workers.

The farmers in this country are in the same predicament as the industrial workers. Mortgages are being foreclosed by the thousands. Tenant farmers are rapidly on the increase. The pauperization of the agricultural workers goes on apace. Due to high freight rates and low prices paid for grain, the Western farmers burn their grain for fuel. And this while millions go hungry in the United States and Europe is dying of malnutrition!

Almost every organization of the farmers, such as the Non-Partisan League, is broken by the financial capitalists. The Tenants Leagues of the South are frequently terrorized and persecuted into a secret or illegal existence where their effectiveness is wasted. Other farm organizations like the Grangers and

Gleaners, pass into the hands of the capitalists and are used by them to lull the agrarian workers into submissiveness and to accept a most miserable existence. No part of the workingclass is forced to work longer hours and receive as little in return as those who work on the farms.

Ex-soldiers (all of them young) often become thieves and beggars because they are given no work. The American Legion, organized by the ex-officers on behalf of the class conscious capitalists, seek to retain the militaristic spirit of the war, and to intimidate all workers and workers' organizations which threaten to rouse the proletariat to action against their oppressors. It is an open army, acting on behalf of the employers against the workers. It does not wait for the sanction of authorities, but takes the law into its own hands. By sheer force it carries through its policies.

The colored race, in spite of the supposed equality, is hated and held in contempt by the "whites"—workers as well as employers. Because of this, they are used to scab on their fellow workers. Demagogues of their own blood exploit the negroes for their own mercenary ends, thus creating additional barriers between the colored and white workers. Lynching is still a pastime in the South.

The opportunity for education on the part of the young workers is exceedingly limited. The workers' children are forced out of school before even the elementary grades have been reached, and enter the struggle for existence competing with their parents in the sale of their labor power.

That is America today! The land of "golden opportunity." "Where every child has a chance to become president."

Conditions In Other Countries.

What about the rest of the world? England, France, Italy—all are facing the problem of unemployment and the degradation of the workers. In Germany conditions are intolerable. The workers are being forced to the lowest depths of slavery to pay for a war brought about by the capitalists of the world. They fought and died in a war in which they had no interest; and now they must pay for it in tears and blood. Russia, the only country in the world where the working class is in power, suffers the greatest famine known to mankind. This is due mainly to the blockade organized by the capitalists around Russia. World capital realizes the danger to its existence if a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT continues to stand out as an inspiration to the workers of the world. In spite of all handicaps, however, the workers and peasants of Russia are gradually improving the economic status of their country. While the rest of the world moves down to chaos, degeneracy and dissolution, Russia alone moves upward to a stable social and economic system which will know no classes and no exploitation.

The Class Struggle and the State

What are the causes underlying these miserable conditions? The fundamental basis of the capitalist system is the production of articles for sale in order to realize profits. A society reared on such a basis cannot function in the interest of the workers, but only benefits those who own the means of production and distribution. These comprise a very small number compared to the population of the country. Private property is the keystone of the system under which we live. Because of it, all laws and institutions exist primarily for the purpose of perpetuating private property. The workers possess

only their labor power, and this they must sell on the open market in order that they may live. The wealth that they produce is far in excess of that which they receive in return for their labor power. Thus there accumulates an ever increasing amount of commodities in one form or another which becomes the property of the capitalists class, and which in turn serves as a means for appropriating the further wealth produced by the workers.

The workers strive to secure as great a portion of the wealth produced as they can. On the other hand, the employers and capitalists use every means at their disposal to reduce the share of the toilers so that they themselves may obtain more. As a result, there arises a conflict between the two classes—the capitalist class and the working class. This conflict becomes more acute with each succeeding year, and oft times results in open combat. **THIS IS THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

Just as in former systems it was necessary for the ruling class of that system to create its own state, so likewise in order properly to protect themselves and their institutions from the efforts of the workers striving to receive a greater portion of what they produce, it has been necessary to create an instrument which functions in the interest of the capitalists as the ruling class. **THIS INSTRUMENT IS THE STATE.** The capitalists' state is an instrument of power in the hands of the ruling class wielded to perpetuate the capitalist class and to keep the workers in subjection. The state does not always reveal itself as an armed power, except when the occasion demands. In this country it is camouflaged under the term of "democracy," where all the "people" have "equal rights." True, they have equal property rights—but the workers have no property! Whenever the workers rebel against the intolerable

conditions under which they are forced to exist, all semblance of equality ceases, and police constabulary, federal troops and militia, as well as private armed thugs, are called upon to enforce "law and order." Remember Ludlow, Calumet, Lawrence, Bethlehem, Seattle, West Virginia and the Steel Strike! Peaceful picketing is forbidden by law. Injunctions are issued indiscriminately against the workers, and the government threatens that strikes by the workers in basic industries (coal strike, railroad strike) will be considered as action directed against the United States government.

Every class struggle is a political struggle. The class in power utilizes every means at its disposal to crush and subdue the workers. The workers, laboring under the illusion that theirs is simply a struggle against an individual boss or corporation, do not perceive that the government is a hand-maid of the bosses, used by them against the workers whenever a critical situation arises.

Imperialism.

The acquisition of wealth by the capitalist class leaves in their hands a large mass of products (capital) which cannot be consumed by them. The very life of the present economic system depends upon having markets for the disposal of the surplus created by the toilers. The markets of the world are limited in number and do not expand in proportion with the accumulation of surplus commodities resulting from the technical and industrial development of capitalism. The colonial markets when thoroughly exploited, themselves become producers.

The contradiction between the mode of production and distribution of commodities has led to periodic crises in the economic and social life of all capitalist nations. These crises have served as safety valves

for the capitalist system. They have taken the form (1) Stoppage of Industry. (2) WAR.

(1) The cycle of years intervening between each industrial depression (panic) has been steadily narrowing in proportion to the development of capitalism. These crises have become greater in scope and intensity with each reappearance. In the past it was only by allowing millions to starve because of the stoppage of industry due to overproduction that a temporary alleviation was effected. The panic of 1913-14 was diverted only by the outbreak of the war.

The war with its seven years of murder and devastation, not only used up the surplus products that had been created, but destroyed the economic life of nearly all of the nations involved. The entire credit system lost its balance, and fictitious capital increased in proportion as productive capital kept diminishing. All of the resources of production and distribution were used for war purposes. Speculation, high prices, and fevered production during the two years immediately following the war led to the belief that capitalism would survive the crises of the world conflict, and that the reconstruction of industry and the devastated areas had opened up new fields of expansion for many years to come. But the sorry spectacle of the past year has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that this was not so. "The present crisis is not a periodic stage of the normal industrial cycle, but a profound reaction consequent upon the artificial stimulation that prevailed during the war and during the two years thereafter" and is based upon ruination and exhaustion. The situation that faces us today—the greatest industrial depression ever known—is international in its scope, and is not the result of over-production but underproduction.

Under the influence of the war, the industries of the United States expanded to a degree out of all proportion to their former size. The United States, as the world provider, came out of the war richer than it went into it, and with the bulk of the world's gold supply in its coffers. The European nations are indebted to it to the extent of ten millions of dollars. Europe, ruined and exhausted by the war cannot meet its debts. Its credit system is completely shattered.

As a result, there is a dire shortage of markets, and the shops must close. Production is curtailed and moves steadily downward. Temporary waves of "prosperity" may take place here and there, but they will be short-lived—and will be followed by even greater depressions. "The crumbling of the very foundation of industry is only beginning and is going to proceed along the whole line."

(2) The other outlet for the accumulated surplus has been WAR. Capitalism thrives on waste; and over the bodies of the millions of slaughtered and maimed workers who have fought the battles for the master class, have been built up the fabulous fortunes and the power of the bourgeoisie.

The industrial and financial magnates found their surplus growing so rapidly that they had to expand into new and undeveloped backward countries of Asia, Africa, and South America. The native population has been oppressed and terrorized into submission to the dictates of American and European Capital. These countries have become mere colonies, possessing not the slightest vestige of freedom.—and the exploitation of the colonial peoples knows no equal. This is the latest phase of capitalist development—IMPERIALISM. Finance-capital is the controlling factor in capitalism today and plays the leading part in Imperialism.

The United States took a leading part in this policy of "peaceful penetration" during the past decade. The Spanish-American War, which resulted in the transfer of power over the West Indies and the Philippines to the United States, gave the impetus to Imperialist expansion by this country. Since that time, Central America and Mexico have been falling more and more into the hands of the American banking and industrial interests. Practically the whole of South America is considered a special field for exploitation by the United States.

The cruelties imposed upon the natives in Porto Rico, Haiti, and the Philippines by the military and civil authorities appointed by the United States, stand side by side with the atrocities of the English and Belgians in India, Egypt, and the Congo.

War and Youth.

The young must bear the brunt of all the fighting, suffering, and economic oppression that results from war. They are cajoled or forced to become the cannon-fodder for the master class.

During the war just passed, they gave up their lives on behalf of the financeers and industrial capitalists of this country. Over one hundred thousand of them were slain on the field of battle. Several times that many were wounded or crippled for life. The very flower of youth and manhood perished in the Central European countries. America almost met the same fate.

The basis for wars will exist so long as capitalism remains. Disarmament conferences, such for example as the Washington Conference, in no way prevent the expansion of the economic forces making for new and ever greater conflicts. Only such instruments of destruction are being scrapped as can be re-

placed by more deadly, more hideous weapons of warfare.

The young of the working-class form the backbone of all imperialist armies of the world. Their blood is shed so that capitalism may expand. They are used, not only to oppress and enslave the more backward peoples, and to slaughter the proletariat of other nations, but they are utilized to force and coerce their fellow workers in their country to accept the miserable lot apportioned them.

The slogan of the revolutionary youth must be: **DOWN WITH ALL CAPITALIST WARS!** Their struggle against militarism is not and cannot be a pacifist one. It is the struggle of a militant, unarmed class against its armed oppressors. In this struggle, the young workers must lead the way. Upon them falls the task of crushing that mighty instrument—**MILITARISM**, and with it **CAPITALISM**.

International Working Class Organizations.

Insofar as the system of exploitation is international in scope the workers have found it necessary to combat capitalism in the same way. A thorough readjustment of our entire social system on a world-wide scale is necessary.

The so-called Second International is the oldest of the existing international working-class organizations. Prior to the war it counted within its ranks millions of workers. It was a loosely formed organization with no obligations upon the sections affiliated with it. It did not fight to abolish capitalism, but to reform it. When the war began, it was inevitable that this International should collapse. Its leaders became social patriots and supporters of their respective governments in the war. It can no longer be considered an International of the working-class; it has become the betrayer of the workers, and the

lackey of capitalism. Its present efforts to revive will be in vain.

The International organized since the close of the war and known as the Second—and—a—half International, is a typical Centrist organization—revolutionary in phrases and compromising in deeds. Such an organization is even more dangerous than the Second International. It deserves the condemnation of all the workers.

Due to the traitorous activities of the Second International, and the vacillating policy of the Second—and—a—half International, the revolutionary workers of the world are rallying to the banners of the Third, the Communist International. This International stands forth as the one uncompromising enemy of capitalism. Every year its ranks swell in numbers as the workers of the world perceive that it alone can guide them in their struggle for emancipation.

The revolutionary proletarian youth, the first to break away from the traitorous Second International, refused to join the compromising Second—and—a—half International when it was formed, having already created their own organization, which represents the interests of the proletarian youth—The Young Communist International. This International with nearly a million valient young workers enlisted under its banner, leads the way, side by side with the Communist International, in the final struggle, forward and onward to the International Proletarian Revolution.

Function of the Young Workers' League.

The Young Workers' League of America declares that the way out of the intolerable situation in which the workers find themselves today is to organize into a compact, centralized, militant organ-

ization to fight the battle of the workers both on the economic and political field.

The working class youth is confronted with problem of its own. For this reason a separate organization such as the YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE is needed to unite all militant young workers of city and farm into one organization, striving to aid the young people in their fight against capitalism, to train and educate them to understand that the problems of the young workers of America are the problems of the young workers of the world. The struggle of the young workers, however, is not an isolated struggle. It is a part of the struggle of the working class as a whole. Only by concerted effort of all workers can their problem be solved.

The present system is doomed to destruction. In its efforts to reach and to alleviate the intolerable conditions of the proletarian youth of America, the YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE is conscious of the fact that a struggle for immediate betterment can in no way be an end in itself and it emphatically seeks to point this out to the young workers. The aim of the YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA is the abolition of capitalism by means of a REPUBLIC of Workers' Councils—a government functioning through the power of the proletariat to the exclusion of all other classes—as the first step toward the establishment of an International Classless society free from all political and economic slavery.

Working Program.

The YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE is aware that the proletariat does not move on the basis of ideals but rather on the concrete facts of life. But the struggle for these concrete things leads to a conception of and a struggle for the ideal.

In its efforts to win to its side the masses of youth-

ful toilers in this country, the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE seeks to reach them in the first instance by participating in the struggle of the working class youth for a better chance to live, and therefore presents a working program, stressing the most vital issues that confront the youth. But in striving to attain these demands, the ultimate goal is neither overlooked nor abandoned. By participating in these struggles, we demonstrate to the workers the utter futility and hopelessness of REFORMING the present system, thereby showing the acute need for completely abolishing capitalism and instituting a WORKERS REPUBLIC. It is primarily through action that the workers come to a realization of this fact.

Education.

In conformity with its conception that the educational activities of YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE must be derived from the actual experience and participation by the proletarian youth in the everyday struggles of the workers, THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE proposes to carry on its work under the following headings:

1. Educational work within the organization.
- 11 Educational work among the masses.

1. The class struggle and the relation of the individual worker to it can be best derived through an understanding of the objective conditions in society that bring about the struggle for power between the wage workers and the employing class. But at the same time the theoretical basis of the present system, its relation to previous social systems, the function of the state, the economics of capitalism which has led to its bankruptcy and the historic mission of the proletariat to inaugurate a new system of so-

ciety—all this must be understood by those who stand as a vanguard in the army of the exploited
CLARITY AND ACTION is our motto.

Within the League there must be conducted intensive educational work, not the academic kind, but rather the vital, the dynamic, drawing from the outstanding facts of the class struggle as it rages today the proper, theoretical (Marxian) conclusions.

(a) Study classes must be organized in every branch of the **YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE**.

(b) Special attention must be given in the press of the **YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE** to the economic conditions of the workers of America, their problems, the form and structure of labor unions as applied to the young, and particular study course outlines should be furnished to all branches on these questions.

II. In striving to reach the masses of young workers outside the organization, it is necessary to show them by force of example that the **YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE** is interested in their welfare and will support them in their battles, not only in words but in deeds.

(a) Intensive and extensive educational and organizational work will be carried on by the League to familiarize the working youth with the need and purpose of belonging to labor unions.

(b) Organizing mass demonstrations in the industrial centers to bring to the fore vital issues and broach to the proletariat means for settling questions to their interest.

(c) Distribution of official organ and special literature dealing with conditions of the young and workers generally.

(d) Special agitation amongst the students and agrarian youth to familiarize them with their condi-

tions in society and their need for uniting with the industrial proletariat for a common basis of action.

Political.

THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE is not a political party. It is a political organization, however, in that it realizes that every class struggle is a political struggle; and as such directs its efforts toward the abolition of capitalist government and the institution of a working class government. The YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE acknowledges that in this struggle every means at the disposal of the working class must be utilized, including the participation in electoral campaigns.

It further understands that in all fields of activities, including parliamentary activities, it must cooperate with the revolutionary political party of the workers in this country—THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA.

This party recognizes that the parliamentary tribunals can be used only to point out to workers the fallacies of bourgeois "democracy" and for agitation and propaganda purposes; not for the institution of reforms. This party recognizes that the inauguration of a Workers' Republic cannot be attained by "voting the working class into power." The only immediate demands it may set forth in its platform from time to time are such as will facilitate the prosecution of the revolutionary struggles of the workers (among others, compelling the capitalists to enforce their own laws guaranteeing the right of free assemblage in case of strikes, the right of peaceful picketing, etc.; the abolition of injunctions against labor organizations.) *We realize fully that capitalist laws are made and exist only for the capitalists, and are disregarded as suit the needs of the capitalist, yet, since the mass of the workers still retain faith

in bourgeois laws, it becomes necessary to disillusion them by demanding the impossible—the enforcement of their own, the capitalists' laws.

Understanding this to be the function of the Workers' Party, the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE pledges its co-operation and support as long as this party remains true to the task it has undertaken; to rouse and rally the masses to action.

In addition to participation in the general activities of the workers on the political field, the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE will agitate and work for certain demands of particular concern to the youthful toilers, and request the active support of the party of the revolutionary adult workers. The following demands will serve as a guide in this sphere of activity:

(a) Federal law prohibiting all children from engaging in any kind of labor until they have reached the age of eighteen.

(b) Federal law providing ways and means of giving higher education to all young people desiring it to the age of 20 inclusive; appropriations for same to be made from the military and naval budgets.

Economic.

To withstand the continuous attacks by capital upon the very life-needs of the workers, adult and young alike, it is therefore especially necessary that the youth strengthen and build up the economic organizations (unions, co-operatives, etc.) Before revolutionary demands and action can be attempted, the young will have to demonstrate that they can defend their most elemental and primitive needs.

The working class can never successfully cope with the bosses on the job unless they are in possession of a strong and militant organization on the economic field.

The workers in this country organized into labor

unions number somewhat more than 5,000,000, most of them consisting of the skilled workers. The percentage of the young people up to the age of 25 within the unions is in no way proportionate to the number of workers up to that age employed in industry and commerce. The large majority of all of the workers in this country are still outside of these economic organizations. The greatest percentage of them are the young workers. No factor is so influential in making the unions progressive as the young; and yet but few of them are organized. The small number of apprentice unions in this country is decreasing rapidly and plays no part in the general labor movement.

Most of the unions still have barriers in the form of age limitations, experience qualifications or other regulations which prevent the young from coming into the unions.

The policy of creating "pure, revolutionary" dual unions by withdrawing the militant elements from the conservative trade unions (which has been the prevalent mode of procedure by the radicals in this country for more than 20 years) has been one of the greatest factors in preventing the mass unions from becoming revolutionary. The policy of the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., O. B. U. and similar organizations (though well intentioned) has in reality proved a great handicap to the revolutionists in their work for (1) It has isolated them from the great bulk of the general labor movement, and (2) It has enabled the reactionary leaders to gain a greater degree of control over the masses that adhere to the trade unions. The old policy must be given up. We must work with and inside the mass unions.

In order that the trade unions and all other bona fide unions may become militant organs of the class struggle, the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE will ac-

tively strive to bring the young into these organizations, who through their enthusiasm, spirit and understanding will break down the bureaucracy of the reactionary leaders of today, and revolutionize these organizations. In preparation for inaugurating the work, the following will serve as a basis:

(a) All members of the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE must join the unions of their respective trade or industry.

(b) Agitate within the unions to remove any and all barriers that prevent the young workers from becoming regular members.

(c) Agitate within the unions for an extensive and intensive campaign by the unions themselves to organize the young within their respective trades and industries.

(d) To lend active assistance to unions on strike, in any locality where a branch of the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE exists.

(e) To agitate for a six-hour day for all young workers up to the age of 20 who are to receive the regular union rate of wages paid employees in the respective industries, and the abolition of all overtime and night work for them.

(f) Agitation within the unions for the organization of the farm laborers and unskilled workers in this country.

Agricultural.

The young farm laborers, as well as the children of the farmers, are beset with many evils growing out of the division of society into classes, and the practical monopoly of the wealth and the means of production by the capitalist class. At a very early age, the children on the farms are put to work. Eighty per cent of the child labor in this country is employed on the farms. The rural school system is

adjusted particularly so as to permit the farmer to exploit his children during the planting and harvesting season.

The heavy burdens imposed upon the agrarian youth is but the reflection of the intolerable conditions forced upon the farmers. The number of farmers owning land is steadily decreasing, only 22 per cent having clear title at the present time. To meet the demands of the banks, the farmers must toil day and night, stinting themselves and their children, and in many instances live below the standard of the poorly paid city worker. The outlook for the farming youth under the present system of society is hopeless. The Non-Partisan League, for instance, captured political power in the state of North Dakota and attempted to carry out a program of State Capitalism. The stronger political and financial interests outside of North Dakota opposed and crushed the League program. Reformism again proved a failure. The future holds forth only a miserable existence as the unbearable conditions foisted upon the agrarian population intensifies. The mortgage ridden farm, with all its enslaving adjuncts, will be thrown upon the shoulders of the farmers' children. The great majority of the young on the farms realize their miserable state, and strive to get away from it in the only way they can see open to them—by leaving the farms. The result is they become city proletarians.

Agricultural schools, corn clubs and the like are created throughout the country to attract the youthful farm workers and to induce them to stay on the farm. These organizations endeavor to teach the young how to produce more, and this so that the stock markets may be able to speculate more heavily. They fail, because the farming youth, exhausted by hard work, seeks recreation to relieve their monot-

onous existence. Though the hours are long and the work hard, the young on the farm receive less in return than any other class of labor.

THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE of AMERICA calls to the attention of the rural youth that their struggle is our struggle; that their liberation from the drudgery and monotony and poverty of farm life can come only as a result of and in conjunction with the liberation of the industrial workers of this country from their chains of wage slavery.

Educational Institutions.

The educational system of this country is in every respect in the hands of the capitalist class. The workers receive neither sufficient education nor the proper kind. Despite the great cry of public school education for all, statistics show that the majority of the children of the workers are forced to leave school before completing the sixth grade. The percentage of them that obtain a high school, and, especially a university training, is very small indeed. The amount of illiteracy in this country as shown by the army tests is indeed appalling. Just as the military forces of the State form the first-line defense of capitalism, so likewise, the schools, the press, the church, the "dope" institutions form the second-line defense.

The education that is dispensed, combines in itself the subtle propaganda of making the young staunch defenders of the present system, and of holding up to them the conception that the honest, energetic, faithful and hard working man or woman will be rewarded by becoming a captain of industry.

Children cannot assimilate the lessons properly when forced to go to school hungry, as is the case with more than three million children in this country every day in the year.

While we realize the bias of public school education today, still it is better than none at all, and must be encouraged if for no other reason than to keep the children out of the mines, mills and factories. We, therefore, make the following demands:

(a) No child shall be permitted to leave school before completing a high-school education. Municipalities to provide for the maintenance of the children where the parents are unable to afford the expense.

(b) The encouraging of and the right of children in public schools to organize students' councils which will discuss the policies and activities of the schools and investigate and consider cases of discrimination. The students councils to be the only bodies to determine reprimands and punishment.

Resolutions.

RELATIONSHIP OF YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE TO WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

In the struggle of the working-class against the capitalist class, the laboring youth does not hold any special position. The class struggle is a conflict between two classes—the working class and the capitalist class.

The working-class will emancipate itself only as a class. The fight against the ruling class can best be carried on by the united effort of young and old. There is no exclusiveness in the struggles of the working-class youth, nor any special issues to be gained for them on the political field against the master class.

The Workers Party of America, though but a recent entry into the political arena as a working-class political party, is the most revolutionary open political party and has attracted to itself the greatest proportion of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the United States.

The Workers Party of America has demonstrated to the Young Workers League that it is best capable of leading the fight of the working class against capitalist class, and is in the position of rallying to itself the mass of the proletariat in this country.

The Young Workers League of America is convinced that it can best further the interests of the working masses and realize its mission by presenting with the Workers Party of America a solid front in the political struggle against the master class.

Experience has proved that the vanguard of the proletarian youth fights best and accomplishes most when linked up with the vanguard of the adult workers on political and economic issues.

However, the Young Workers League of America recognizes that it has a special function to perform in gathering to itself the proletarian youth and bringing them into action against the oppressors of the working-class, and for that reason it is necessary for it to maintain itself as a separate organization.

In view of the foregoing, the Young Workers League of America declares that the relation between itself and the Workers Party of America shall be as follows:

1. The Young Workers League of America shall accept the political directives of the Workers Party of America and shall work in harmony with that organization on all political issues in carrying on the fight against the capitalist class.

2. Organizationally, the Young Workers League of America shall be autonomous; that is, the Young Workers League shall determine and carry out unhindered all matters pertaining to its organizational existence, and shall have the right to discuss the political issues and decisions of the Workers Party, which the League is bound to carry out.

3. There shall be mutual representation with voice and vote on all units of both organizations, beginning with the Branch up to and including the Central Executive Committees. (Where representation on branches cannot be carried out, representation shall be had on the city central committees.)

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment is a specter that continually faces the working class of America.

This army of the unemployed is being used by the bosses in their campaign to smash the unions, increase hours and reduce wages. Without this army to aid them, the employers would be utterly powerless to carry on their vicious Open Shop drives. The unemployed are potential scabs.

The unemployed must demand work and as an alternative thereto, compensation at union wages.

History has taught that only through organization can man achieve anything.

The unemployed must be organized to make organized demands to this end upon the government. It is the duty of the unions to organize the unemployed to achieve these demands. The demand of **compensation at union wages** must be insisted upon, in order to safeguard the standard of living of the organized workers, since the acceptance of a lower standard will be ample proof and sufficient excuse for the American employers to reduce the standard of all workers and notably the organized workers.

It is the duty of the organized workers to support all Unemployed Councils and to aid in organizing them wherever they do not yet exist.

The Young Workers League of America, assembled at its first National Convention, instructs its members to agitate for action of this nature in their unions, in all other workers' organizations and in their shops; and to give whole-hearted support to all movements of the unemployed for relief. The Young Workers League of America does so in the full knowledge that unemployment will not be eliminated until the capitalist system is abolished and a system controlled by the workers inaugurated.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Young Workers League of America, assembled at its first National Convention, wholeheartedly

endorses the work carried on by the Friends of Soviet Russia and its subsidiary apparatus, the Famine Scouts, and greets all the affiliated sections of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

We pledge our fullest co-operation and support to the Friends of Soviet Russia in carrying on the work of wiping out the ravages of the Russian famine.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Young Workers League of America, assembled in its first National Convention, demands that the United States Government recognize the Soviet Republic of Russia as the only representative government of the Russian Workers and that it assumes diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Government.

The Young Workers League of America further pledges itself to carry on propaganda to that end—until the American Government officially recognizes the Workers' Government of Russia.

CHILDREN'S GROUPS.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot allow its children to deteriorate and be subjected to the reactionary influences of the ruling class. While fighting energetically for the physical well being of its children, the proletariat must not neglect the struggle against the bourgeois class spirit in the schools, churches, clubs and press, and against all forms of moral and political suasion exercised by the bourgeoisie over the children of the proletariat.

Although child labor and exploitation cannot be abolished, nor the educational system altered until the conquest of power by the working class will have been achieved, still it is imperative at the present time to protect the workers children from the evil and reactionary influences of the capitalist system of education, and to give them instead a proletarian class-consciousness.

This task can be accomplished only by having the workers organize their own schools, classes and recreational centers for the children to counteract the propaganda of the master class. This is a difficult undertaking, and the success of it

depends upon the spirit and understanding with which it is undertaken as well as by the strength of the organizations of the classconscious workers.

The Young Workers League, with the aid of the Workers Party and other revolutionary organizations, proposes to initiate the work of reaching organizing, and educating the children of the workers in this country. In order to do this, Children's Groups shall be organized wherever possible under the direction of the Young Workers Leagues. (This is but the beginning of an extensive system of work amongst the children, which can be further developed only on the basis of our strength and the experience gained in conducting these groups and classes.) They should be sub-divided according to their age and ability to learn the carefully assimilated Marxian teachings. The younger ones should be more directly under the leadership and direction of their teachers, while the older and more advanced ones should be given a greater degree of expression and self-development such as electing officers for their body, and at times themselves deciding upon what to do or study.

Special material must be prepared by the National Executive Committee of the Y. W. L. regarding and for the children's groups, and proper space should be given in the official organ of the League regarding their activities.

In all cases where it is possible, the members of the Y. W. L. should be the teachers of the classes and groups, thus making sure that the education given to the children is not affected with bourgeois or centrist ideology.

Every branch of the Y. W. L. shall elect an individual or committee to take charge of the work amongst the children. These shall be united into a central body in each city. This body shall have a regular representative on the C. C. C. of the Y. W. L. The secretary of this central body shall be in direct connection with the national office of the Y. W. L. of A.

THE RACE QUESTION.

Capitalism is a force which not only divides the workers according to nationality, but worst of all, it has caused a cleavage or division between the workers of the white, the black, the yellow and the brown races. The white workers are constantly being propagandized as to their superiority over all other races. The fear of a "Yellow" or a "Black" menace is brought to their attention with unceasing regularity. The race prejudices thus created have proved to be an effective check upon unified action by the workers of the

different races in almost every industry. On the one hand it has led the whites to refuse the others to become a part of their economic organizations, and on the other hand has forced the colored workers into a position of hatred and contempt for the white workers and their organizations, thus making of them willing strike-breakers and sluggers.

In this country especially, with its ten millions of colored people, all of whom are forced to do the hardest, dirtiest, and the most menial labor under intolerable conditions of servitude, it behooves the revolutionary workers to pay greater attention to the problem of organizing and educating these proletarians to an understanding of their class position, and at the same time to carry on an agitation among the masses of white workers to break down the fears and prejudices that have been inculcated in them by the master class and its institutions.

The Young Workers League is determined to carry on this work of enlightenment amongst the white and colored workers. It recognizes only CLASS divisions, and will develop ways and means whereby the exploited workers, irrespective of age, nationality or race, will unite in the struggle to overthrow capitalism, thus for the first time, enabling the people of the whole world to solve in a rational and scientific manner the RACE question.

Constitution of the Young Workers League of America.

Article 1... Name and Purpose.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Young Workers' League of America.

Section 2. Its purpose shall be to organize and educate the young of the working class to understand their true position in capitalist society, to work for the abolition of capitalism and to aid in the establishment of a Republic of Workers' Councils—a government functioning through the power of the proletariat to the exclusion of all other classes—as the first step towards the establishment of an International Classless Society, free from all political and economic slavery.

Article II. Emblem.

Section 1. The emblem of the Young Workers' League shall be a crossed hammer and sickle on a five-pointed star, surrounded by a circular margin, having at the top the words "Young Workers' League of America," and underneath the words "Clarity and Action."

Article III. Membership.

Section 1. All young proletarians between the ages of 14 and 30 shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2. Every applicant for membership shall have expressed his or her willingness to enter and

abide by the rules and regulations of the organization, shall have paid the required initiation fee, and must be recommended by two members in good standing in the branch in which application is tendered.

Section 3. Every applicant to the organization must become a member of the study class conducted by the particular branch to which he makes application.

Section 4. Applicants for membership shall sign the following application card:

"I, the undersigned, declare my adherence to the principles and tactics of the Young Workers' League of America as expressed in its program and constitution; will be bound by its rules and regulations, and affirm that I will actively participate in its work."

Section 5. (a). Every applicant for membership shall pay initiation fee and dues when application is made. Final action on acceptance or rejection of the applicant for membership shall be made at the following business meeting. This rule shall not apply to the Charter Members of a newly organized branch nor to those who make application to the newly organized branch during the first month.

(b) Applicants for membership shall be proposed and accepted only at the regular business meetings of the branch.

(c) Applicants who are unable to pay the initiation fee or dues because of unemployment, strike, or similar reasons, may be exempted from payment of same if so recommended by the two members who propose the applicant and if approved by the City Central Committee or City Executive Committee.

Section 6. A member may transfer from one branch to another only upon certification by the Branch to which he belongs and if approved by the

City Central Committee or City Executive Committee. Transfer to another city or district must pass through regular channels. A transfer shall be granted only if the member has complied with all the obligations of the League.

Article IV. Units of Organization.

Section 1. The unit of the organization of the Young Workers' League shall be the Branch, consisting of not less than five members.

Section 2. Two or more branches in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. The City Central Committee may include branches in adjacent territory where no City Central Committee exists.

Section 3. No branch of any one language in a certain locality shall be divided into two branches unless its membership is at least one hundred. The branch must be divided into two branches equal in membership when its membership reaches 150.

Section 4. The National Executive Committee is empowered to create districts and further subdivisions whenever it deems this necessary. No districts shall be formed or other divisions made in the organizational structure other than the division of a branch into two branches after the call for the National Convention has been issued.

Article V. Administration.

Section 1. The Supreme body of the Young Workers' League of America shall be the National Convention.

Section 2. Between conventions the National Executive Committee elected by the National Convention shall be the supreme body and shall direct all the activities of the League.

Section 3. The City Central Committee shall have the power to supervise the activities of the branch-

es within its jurisdiction. In case a district organization exists, the district executive committee has the power to supervise the activities of the subordinate units within its jurisdiction.

Section 4. Language branches of the League shall have the same relation to the City Central Committee as the English speaking branches.

Section 5. Language propaganda committees shall be appointed by the National Executive Committee, whenever it deems this necessary, to supervise the work amongst the foreign speaking youth. The language propaganda committees are directly responsible to the National Executive Committee.

Section 6. Delegates to the committees or other units of the Workers' Party of America shall be elected by the corresponding committees or units of the Young Workers' League and vice versa.

Article VI. Conventions.

Section 1. The National Convention is the supreme body of the Young Workers' League of America and shall be called by the National Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 2. Emergency conventions with all the power of regular conventions may be called by the National Committee or upon demand of organizations representing 40 per cent of the membership.

Section 3. The number of delegates to the National Convention shall be determined by the National Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the City Central Committees or district committees, or committees of subordinate units where such exist, according to membership based upon average dues paid for the period of three months prior to the call for the convention. Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected by the City Conventions, or conventions of districts or subordinate

units where such exist, with proportional representation for all branches.

Section 4. Elections to city conventions, or district conventions or conventions of other subdivisions where such exist, shall be determined by the City Central Committee, district committee, or committees of other subdivisions where such exist, upon a basis of proportional representation.

Section 5. Members of the City Executive Committee, or District Executive Committees or the executive committees of other subordinate units where such exist, shall have all the rights of regular delegates at the conventions of their respective units, but no vote unless they are regularly elected delegates.

Section 6. Delegates to the City Conventions, or district conventions or conventions of other subdivisions where such exist, may be from any subdivision within the respective territory.

Section 7. Any member of the organization may be elected to the National Convention outside of the jurisdiction of the city organization or district organization or other subdivision where such exist.

Section 8. (a) The agenda and other National Convention matters shall be submitted by the National Committee to each branch through regular channels, for discussion at the same time the call for the National Convention is issued.

b) The agenda for the National Convention shall be issued at least 60 days prior to the convention.

(c) The press of the Young Workers' League shall be opened to discussion on important matters at least 60 days prior to the convention.

(d) Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and an allowance not exceeding \$15.00 to cover other convention expenses.

(e) The National Executive Committee is authorized to assess the membership to cover all convention expenses. Every City Central Committee or district committee or subordinate committee units where such exist, shall raise its quota of the convention expenses on the basis of the membership within its respective territory.

Article VII. National Executive Committee.

Section 1. Between conventions the National Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the League and shall direct all its activities.

Section 2. The National Executive Committee shall consist of seven members elected by the National Convention. The Convention shall also elect five alternates, to fill vacancies in order of vote. When the list of alternates is exhausted, the National Executive Committee shall have the right of selection.

At least five members of the National Executive Committee shall reside in the city in which the National Office is located.

Section 3. Members of the National Executive Committee must have been members of the Young Workers' League for one year at the time of their nomination, or hold membership in an organization affiliated as a body within 60 days after the first National Convention.

Section 4. The National Executive Committee shall elect an Executive Secretary and all other officers.

Section 5. All press and propaganda activities shall be under the control of the National Executive Committee.

Section 6. The National Executive Committee shall make a report of the activities and finances of the League at least once every two months.

Section 7. A complete auditing and accounting of the League shall be made once every six months. No paid employee or paid official shall serve on the auditing committee.

Article VIII. Districts and Subordinate Units.

Section 1. Wherever a unit higher than the city organization exists, the respective committee of such higher unit shall submit and carry out all instructions of the National Executive Committee. It shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the National Executive Committee at least once every month. It shall submit financial statement and report on the activity in the territory under its jurisdiction to the membership at least once every month.

Section 2. City conventions shall be held at least once every six months. Wherever organizations higher than city organizations exist, conventions shall be held at least once every six months.

Section 3. The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates from each branch as follows:

Every branch shall have at least one delegate up to and including 20 members. It shall be entitled to an additional delegate for each additional 30 members or major fraction thereof. The total delegation shall not exceed five for any one branch.

If city committees upon this basis have less than five members, the city organization shall have the right to determine the representation of the C. C. C.

The City Central Committee shall elect its City Executive Committee (it may be elected by the City Convention), which functions as the supreme body between meetings of the C. C. C. Members of the City Executive Committee who are not regularly elected delegates to the C. C. C. shall have all rights

of regular members on the C. C. C. except the right to vote.

Section 4. The committees of the various units of the League are empowered to act within their jurisdiction, subject to the decisions of the next higher unit.

Article IX. Discipline.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall have the power to suspend or expel or reorganize any unit of the organization. In the case of district organizations the expulsion or suspension shall be by a vote of at least 5 to 2.

Section 2. No Branch of the Young Workers' League shall have the power to expel a member, but it may suspend such member pending action of the City Central Committee, which shall have power to expel or suspend members recommended by branches for expulsion or suspension.

Section 3. Where no C. C. C. exists, branches have the rights of the city organization.

Section 4. No C. C. C. or higher unit, if such exists, shall have the right to suspend or expel a branch unless approved by the next higher body. No city organization or unit higher than the city organization shall be suspended or expelled unless approved by the National Executive Committee.

Section 5. Any unit higher than the branch, may recommend to the National Executive Committee through regular channels the suspension, expulsion or reorganization of any lower unit.

Section 6. Written charges must be presented against any member or unit accused of a breach of discipline. Such charges must be investigated by the next higher unit before discipline is carried out.

Section 7. Every member or unit shall have the

right of appeal whether expelled or suspended, to the next higher body.

Section 8. The National Executive Committee maintains discipline over its own members. It may suspend or expel by a vote of 5 to 1, the member to be suspended or expelled not voting.

Section 9. The member of the National Executive Committee suspended or expelled shall have the right to appeal in writing or in person to the next National Convention. In the meantime, his suspension or expulsion shall stand.

Article X. Finances.

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 25 cents which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay 25 cents per month for due stamps which shall be sold to the C. C. C. for ten cents. The C. C. C. shall sell the stamps to the branches for 15 cents which in turn are to sell them to the members for 25 cents.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Executive Committee or National Convention.

Section 4. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or for similar reasons, shall upon application to their financial secretary be furnished with exempt stamps. The number of exempt stamps shall not exceed 15 per cent of regular dues purchased by each city central committee, per month.

Section 5. Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members of the Young Workers' League in good standing.

Members who are four months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls.

Section 6. No member shall be permitted to pay advance dues for more than two months.

Section 7. Ten per cent of the net income of all entertainments or other affairs by any unit of the organization shall be remitted through regular channels to the National Executive Committee.

Article XI. Press.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall publish the *Young Worker* as the official organ of the League. It shall be issued at least once every month.

Section 2. The National Executive Committee shall supervise and control the issuance of literature and the entire League press.

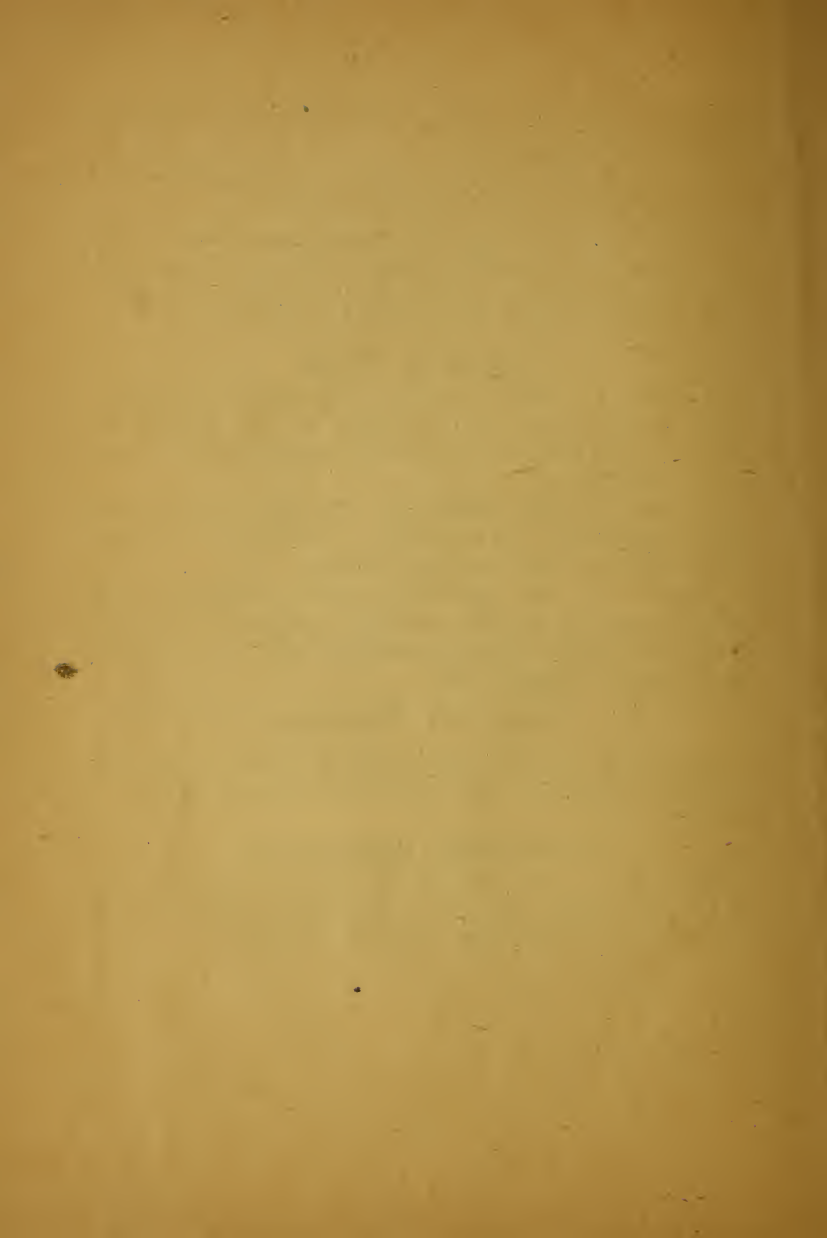
Section 3. No subdivision of the League shall publish papers, leaflets, books, pamphlets or other literature unless expressly authorized by the National Executive Committee.

Article XII. Meetings.

Section 1. Every branch shall hold at least one business meeting and one educational meeting a month.

Article VIII. Headquarters.

Section 1. The National headquarters of the Young Workers' League of America shall be in the city determined by the National Convention.



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